



*The Journal of the British
Archaeological Association*

British Archaeological Association

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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. L.—1894.

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УТИБЕРНІИИ
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P R E F A C E.

THE FIFTIETH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1894 contains thirty-seven papers read at the Congress at Winchester in the summer of 1893, or during the evening meetings of the session 1893-4 in London, as well as the proceedings of the Congress and evening meetings. The Volume has been illustrated with many plates, some of which have been contributed by the liberality of the authors of the papers to which they appertain; and by this means the Association has been enabled to give a more pictorial aspect to the Volume than would otherwise have been possible.

The contents will be found, as usual, very miscellaneous and all-embracing, although the absence of any very important or out-of-the-way discoveries and investigations, which characterised the previous year, is still noticeable in this.

By the publication of this Volume the Association completes its jubilee, a fashionable way of proclaiming the shortness of life and the long duration of system.

Few members, indeed, who stood up at Canterbury half a century ago, have survived to celebrate this fiftieth anniversary; but the mental force, which then set the machinery of the Association at work, has maintained its collective energies in full vigour to the present day, and, let us hope, will direct it for many a year to come, in faithful obedience to the ancient philosopher's injunction that those who hold the torch should take care to hand it down to others in turn for profitable keeping.

W. DE G. BIRCH.

31 December, 1894.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.
2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.
3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.
4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.
5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.
6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.
7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.
8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.
9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1 : 1 each to Associates; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6; to the Associates, £1 : 1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archaeologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1893-94 are as follows:—1893, Nov. 15; Dec. 6. 1894, January 3, 17; Feb. 7, 21; March 7, 21; April 4, 18; May 2 (Annual General Meeting), 16; June 6.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archaeological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.
2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or, in his absence, by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.
3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.
5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

- The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.
 - 2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.
 - 3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.
 - 4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.
-

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at		Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . .	.	
1845 WINCHESTER . .	.	
1846 GLOUCESTER . .	.	
1847 WARWICK . .	.	
1848 WORCESTER . .	.	
1849 CHESTER . .	.	
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER . .	.	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 DERBY . .	.	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK . .	.	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER . .	.	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW . .	.	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . .	.	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH . .	.	
1857 NORWICH . .	.	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY . .	.	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBOURY
1859 NEWBURY . .	.	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860 SHREWSBURY . .	.	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER . .	.	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862 LEICESTER . .	.	JOHN LEE, Esq., LLD., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS . .	.	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH . .	.	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM . .	.	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS . .	.	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW . .	.	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bt.
1868 CIRENCESTER . .	.	THE EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . .	.	THE LORD LYTTON
1870 HEREFORD . .	.	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNNS, Esq., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH . .	.	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . .	.	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD . .	.	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL . .	.	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875 Evesham . .	.	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE . .	.	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECOMBE

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1877 LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN . . .	LORD ALWYN COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER . . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL . . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888 GLASGOW . . .	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.
1889 LINCOLN . . .	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1890 OXFORD . . .	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1891 YORK . . .	THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.
1892 CARDIFF . . .	THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF
1893 WINCHESTER . . .	THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.

1894.

THE ANNUAL CONGRESS

WILL BE HELD THIS YEAR AT

MANCHESTER.

(Detailed Programme will be issued very soon.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1893-4.

President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.

Vice-Presidents.

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MARCH 1894.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT
THE WINCHESTER CONGRESS

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.,
LORD-LIEUTENANT OF HAMPSHIRE, ETC.

WHEN I was honoured by being asked to be President of this Congress I said that, not professing to be an archaeologist, I considered myself very unworthy of the distinction, and I only consented to accept the honour because it was thought I might be of some service to the Association. I was afterwards somewhat alarmed at being told that it was usual for the President to deliver what is called an "inaugural address", but I was comforted by finding that at the last meeting held in this city, in 1845, the Marquis of Northampton, who was then President, confined himself to a very few remarks, and left to the Dean of Westminster, the late Samuel Wilberforce, the duty of recommending the objects of the Association to public support. We have here to-night an ecclesiastical dignitary still more closely connected with us than Dean Wilberforce then was—I mean, of course, the Dean of Winchester, who has not only carefully studied the history of our Cathedral and dealt with its fabric with admirable judgment and good taste, but has given us an excellent history of Winchester, and is superintending the issue of the volumes of the Hampshire Record Society, which will throw much additional light on the antiquities of the county and city. As the Dean is about to read a paper to

night, I have asked him to be so kind as to supplement my brief observations with some general remarks. He has kindly assented, and I am sure the arrangement will be as agreeable to you as it is to myself.

Only a few years ago it was necessary that the study of antiquities should be advocated by distinguished scientific and literary men, objections answered, and public support solicited. All this is now changed; archaeology has become a popular study—a pastime, I might almost say—and the observation of a clever writer, not a hundred years ago, that “constant residence soon destroys all sensibility to objects of local enthusiasm”, would be absolutely out of place here. We in Hampshire have our Field Club, which has already issued several numbers of its *Proceedings*. Our county newspapers have their “Notes and Queries”; one of them, *The Observer*, has issued six handy and interesting volumes of these notes, published during the last twelve years, and another has followed the example by the publication of two similar volumes. Everything around us betokens a keen and intelligent interest in antiquarian research, and much has been done of late years to illustrate the history and antiquities of our county. We have, indeed, up to the present time no grand and complete county history containing such details as may be found in the classical county histories of England; but last year a short history of Hampshire was written by Mr. Shore, which gives, among other valuable matter, a learned and complete account of early times. Canon Benham has written a history of the diocese, Mr. Wise an account of the New Forest, Miss Bramston and Miss Leroy their *Historic Winchester* and *City of Memories*, the Dean his *History of Winchester*.

Histories have also been published of Southampton and Basingstoke, as well as of many of our villages, such as St. Mary Bourne, Winchfield, Swarraton, Northington, Ashe, and Wyke. Canon Moberly has written a life of William of Wykelham, Mr. Kirby last year collected most valuable materials for the history of the College, and Canon Humbert has given us an account of St. Cross. Mr. Godwin has made a study of the Civil War in Hampshire; accounts of Bramshill, The Vyne, and Strathfield-

saye, have been published under the auspices of their owners; and Lord Selborne has contributed a valuable chapter upon the antiquities of Selborne to the last edition of our favourite Hampshire classic, Gilbert White. Lastly, Mr. Gilbert of Southampton has produced, in his *Bibliotheca Hantoniensis*, a very useful list of the publications concerning the county.

No one can deny that Winchester presents an unrivalled field for antiquarian research, and is admirably suited to be the place of meeting of such an Association as this. The 800th anniversary of our Cathedral, the 700th anniversary of the establishment of our municipality, and the 500th anniversary of the College of St. Mary, have successively been celebrated here in a manner worthy of their historical importance, not unaccompanied by those banquets which have been popular in Winchester since the days of St. Dunstan.

I may be allowed, I hope, to take this opportunity of congratulating the authorities of the College and the city upon the successful proceedings of last week. It was a rare privilege "Omnibus Wiccamicis", as well as to outsiders, to be allowed to assist at such an assembly of distinguished men met to do honour to the Foundation of William of Wykeham. I hardly know when the Archbishops of Canterbury and York have ever before been present together on a public occasion in Winchester, unless at the coronation of Edward the Confessor.

I leave it to others to dwell upon the antiquities of our city; but I must be permitted to observe that we citizens are proud of belonging to "the most historical of English cities", and in the reflection that here has been the origin and source of the language, of the laws, of the literature, of the commerce, and of the navy of England. Although Winchester is no longer the favoured residence of kings, "her ancient buildings" (to use the eloquent language of our Dean), "her many customs and usages of the past, her tranquil beauty and pleasant neighbourhood, give to the venerable city a right to the undying affection of all whose lot has fallen to them in such pleasant places." Moreover, while our municipal institutions go back to the remotest past, in no other city of England has municipal government been better conducted in the present, or

have the chief magistrates, of whom you, Mr. Mayor, are so worthy a representative, more constantly commanded the confidence and respect of their fellow-citizens.

Ladies and gentlemen, while the study of antiquities has the advantage of causing us to reflect that

“The glories of our birth and state
Are shadows, not substantial things”;

I venture to think that one of the main advantages of your researches is to bring prominently forward the merits of those Hampshire worthies who passed their lives “toiling, rejoicing, sorrowing”, in the places which you visit, and whose records you are so careful to preserve.

In carrying out the programme of the Association there will be ample opportunity for such reflections. At Hursley you will see the church built by John Keble from the profits of *The Christian Year*. When the beauties of Romsey Abbey are pointed out to you, you must remember that hard by is Broadlands, the home of Lord Palmerston, the most popular of English Prime Ministers of modern times, whose long life was devoted to the service of his country. To-morrow you are to make an excursion in the more immediate neighbourhood of Winchester. Part of your road has been described by William Cobbett in graphic language, which I am sure I may be excused for quoting: “We went to King’s Worthy, that is about two miles on the road from Winchester to London, and then, turning short to our left, came up upon the downs to the north of Winchester Race-Course. Here, looking back at the city and at the fine valley above and below it, and at the many smaller valleys that run down from the high ridges into that great and fertile valley, I could not help admiring the taste of the ancient kings who made this city a chief place of their residence. There are not many finer spots in England. Here are hill, dell, water, meadows, woods, cornfields, downs, and all of them very fine and very beautifully disposed.” You will see Sparsholt, the birthplace of Sir Herbert Stewart; you will pass near the valley of the Test, where lies Laverstoke, the seat of our able and respected Chairman of Quarter Sessions, Mr. Melville Portal, whose eldest son, Raymond Portal, the *beau idéal* of a gallant soldier, has

just lost his life in the noblest of all causes, the suppression of the slave-trade of Central Africa. At Stratton you must not forget that the memory of Rachel Lady Russell haunts the beech-avenues where she walked in her happy days; while on your way back to Winchester you will see Headbourne Worthy, where the learned Joseph Bingham wrote his *Origines Ecclesiasticae*. These few names present themselves within the narrow limits of two excursions, and must only be taken as a sample of what you would find elsewhere in the county of Southampton.

Perhaps such remarks as these can hardly be strictly brought within the province of archaeology, but at least the connection is close; and we welcome you to a city and a county which afford not only material subjects of the highest interest for your investigations, but the memorials of men and women whose lives we honour, whose memory we cherish, and whose example we strive to follow.

THE HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL FONT, WINCHESTER.

BY THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF WINCHESTER, F.S.A.

(Read August 1st, 1893, during the Winchester Congress.)

THERE is, strictly speaking, no evidence as to the history of this font. It is a singular piece, which has long exercised the ingenuity of antiquaries; many have been the conjectures and suggestions respecting it. In the absence of direct proof, documentary or other, I fear that after all my paper can only deal with the probabilities of the case, and the conclusions drawn cannot boast of scientific certainty.

I have been so fortunate as to receive most generous help from Miss Swann of Walton Manor, Oxford, the niece and heiress of that learned archaeologist, Professor Westwood. Acting on his suggestion, Miss Swann had collected materials for a monograph on the group of fonts of which ours is the most remarkable example. The Professor's death obliged her to lay aside, for a time at least, her projected work; and with a liberality for which I cannot be too grateful, she has allowed me to see and use her papers and drawings: these have given me the clue to the origin of the font, and have enabled me to work out the subject. It is not too much to say that without her help this paper could not have been written.

As we have no documentary evidence, we must fall back on such data as the font itself supplies. These may be enumerated under the following heads:—(1), the material of which it is made; (2), the shape and form of it; (3), the subjects carved on it; (4), details of the sculpture; (5), comparison with other fonts belonging to the same group.

As to this last point, let me say at once that M. Paul Saintenoy published last year his *Prolégomènes à l'étude de l'affiliation des formes des fonts baptismaux*, and has provided us with a good list of these remarkable works of art.

(1.) What is the stone of which the Winchester font is made? It is clear that if we can trace it to the quarry

we shall have made a long step towards the solution of our problem. The material is a very dark stone, almost black, with a bluish tinge about it. It is very hard and close-grained. It used to be called "basaltic". This, however, is a mistake. There is no basaltic character about it. It has also been pronounced, by a competent geologist, to be slate-stone from Derbyshire. The dangerous man worked at a fracture with his knife, and before I could interfere with him, succeeded in detaching a small piece about the size of a child's finger-nail. He discovered evidence of lamination in it, and concluded that it was "a hard black slate". Another scientific person applied the test of acid to the Southampton font, and seeing effervescence, declared it to be "a very hard limestone-rock". Others call it "a black marble"; and as geologists define marble as "any kind of limestone which will readily take a polish", and our font is susceptible of a high polish, the last two suggestions may be regarded as one and the same.

I asked Messrs. Farmer and Brindley on the point, and their kind reply was that "Mr. Brindley" (who is one of our chief authorities on stones) "thinks it probably is one of the picked beds of *black marble* which are found in Ireland and Belgium." "He does not think it at all likely that the material is slate"; and referring to the point of lamination, he adds that "a great deal of the old paving of London, usually called slate, comes from the thin beds of black marble found in Belgium, which are somewhat laminated."

Finally, I ventured to apply a little acetic acid to one of the unrubbed portions of the surface (where it could do no harm), with the result that a slight effervescence at once took place. The bubbles which came up and burst may be safely taken as having proved that there is lime in the stone.

We may, therefore, lay it down as certain that it is a black or bluish-black marble. Now beds of this kind of marble are still being won from the quarries at Tournay in Hainault. These quarries lie in the hills along the course of the river Scheldt, which is navigable for craft of a fair size all the way from Tournay to Ghent, and thence to the sea below Antwerp.

(2.) As to the form of the font, which is the general shape of the group, it consists of a nearly square block of stone supported on a massive central column, with four smaller disengaged columns at the angles.

(3.) The subjects carved on it will help us materially towards the approximate date. On the spandrels of the top are carved symbolic subjects; on two sides, leaves and flowers, or grapes; on the other two sides, two doves drinking out of a vase, from which issues a cross,—subjects denoting baptism. These, and the medallions on the east and north faces, tend to give an impression of high antiquity to the font, and are clearly traditional, indicating that at the place where the stone was worked certain well-defined types of symbols were in use. This symbolism agrees perfectly well with the development of sculptural art at Tournay, where, we are told by M. L. Cloquet (in his admirable guide-book, *Tournai et le Tournaisis*, p. 41) the carved work of the twelfth century is remarkable for “des sculptures toutes conventionnelles et plus ou moins bizarres *dans leur mystérieux symbolisme*.”

The bas-reliefs on the west and south faces of our font are far more helpful. Bishop Milner, over a century ago, pointed out that they depict the miracles of St. Nicolas of Myra; but it did not occur to him to connect this discovery, as he might well have done, with the date of the work. It so happens that the subject of St. Nicolas limits the period somewhat closely, and shows that the old view as to the very high antiquity of the font is untenable.

In 1087 Italian merchants trading with the East brought over to Bari, on the South Adriatic coast of Italy, beside their ordinary merchandise, the bones of St. Nicolas. Bari received the holy visitor with great devotion, and the Cathedral became at once a noted thaumaturgic centre. As it lay in the world's highway, the Saint's fame spread rapidly across Europe, and he at once became the fashion as a popular subject of legend and of art, the kinsman of legend. Churches also in considerable numbers were dedicated to him in the West in the twelfth and following centuries. In England alone there are three hundred and sixty-two churches of St. Nicolas. Presently this enthusiasm for the Saint found place in



FONT AT ZEDELGHEM, NEAR BRUGES, BELGIUM.



FONT AT WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

literature, and we find the story of the raising of the three youths (one of the subjects portrayed on our font) taken as the groundwork of a "Mystery" written by an English Benedictine monk, named Hilary, in the year 1125.¹ Wace also, the Anglo-Norman poet (who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century), composed a Life of St. Nicolas in old French and old English. The tale thus having spread with evident signs of popularity, it is natural that attempts to express the incidents of it in stone should speedily follow; and one of these efforts we find on our font. We may say with some confidence that this development of the legend cannot have been earlier than the middle of the twelfth century, and there is good ground for thinking that it does not belong to a later time than the year 1200.

(4.) I have already hinted that our font was carved in Hainault. Now Count Robert of Flanders, with his Belgian followers, returned from Crusade at the very end of the eleventh century. They, no doubt, brought with them details as to the wonder-worker of Bari; and this may also be a date-indication.

Another point in the proof is this: the architecture on our font and on that at Zedelghem is the "florid Romance" ("le Roman fleuré"), which flourished in the transition between the severer Norman and the "ogival Gothic" which followed it. This also points to the twelfth century.

On the Zedelghem font (on which there are distinct post-Norman architectural features) a knight stands at each angle, bearing a shield emblazoned with a coat of arms; and these emblazonments did not come into use till after the first Crusade, at the beginning of the twelfth century. The Norman gentleman, with hawk in hand, who stands on the south face of the Winchester font, also belongs to about the same period.

The mitre worn by St. Nicolas provides us with by far the best evidence of date. Mabillon points out that the mitre, as part of a bishop's official dress, was not recognised till the very end of the eleventh century. It sprang out of a flat kind of cap, and was at first very low. In the earliest examples extant (as that of Bishop Ulger of

¹ *Hilarii Versus et ludi.* Lut. Paris. Techener, 1838.—*Origines latines du théâtre moderne.* Paris, 1849.—*Molanus de imaginibus, cum notis Paquot,* p. 388.

Angers, A.D. 1149) the mitre is depressed in the middle, over the brows, and rises into two low horns over the ears. This is the "mitra corniculata". After a time fashion changed, and the mitre was worn with one peak directly over the nose, and the lowest part over the ears. This change shows itself in the latter half of the twelfth century, and is the mark of transition from the low to the high mitre, from the "corniculata" to the "bifida"; and the tall mitre is found in use at the very beginning of the thirteenth century. On our font, though the carving leaves a little doubt on the point, it will, I think, be generally agreed that the three mitres all have the blunt point over the nose, and therefore belong to the close of the twelfth century. We are thus brought, in another way, to the same point.

If it is urged that the sculpture wears too archaic a look for that period, we may reply that the hardness of the material helps largely to give this look of age to the work; and also, that in the district in which the font was carved, certain art-traditions may have still been strong; also, that forms of art and symbols of an archaic character may have been introduced there by the Crusaders.

(5.) We may now pass on to consider the school or class of fonts, and see whether we can extract any useful hints from others of the series. They are all made of the same black marble, and all present marked similarities of subject and workmanship.

Of this stone are made the following fonts, which form the group of which ours is the most interesting example:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|--|
| I. | In Belgium | (1) Zedelghem, near Bruges |
| | " | (2) Termonde (or Dendermonde), not far
from Ghent |
| II. | In Northern France | (3) Noiron le Vineaux, near Laon |
| | " | (4) St. Just in the "Oise", on the Railway
between Amiens and Paris |
| III. | In England | (5) Winchester Cathedral |
| | " | (6) East Meon |
| | " | (7) St. Michael's, Southampton } Hants ¹ |
| | " | (8) St. Mary Bourne } |

¹ It appears that the original font in Romsey Abbey Church, Hants, was also one of this series. When that Church was unfortunately "restored", about half a century ago, the old font, being in a bad state, was broken up and thrown away.

III. In England	(9) Lincoln Cathedral	Lincolnshire
"	(10) Thornton Curtis	
"	(11) St. Peter's, Ipswich, Suffolk	

In the first place, the dispersion of these black fonts—two in Northern France, two in Belgium, and several near the sea in England—seems to indicate a point neither English nor French but Belgian for their origin; and with this the evidence of the Tournay quarries agrees. This dark limestone-marble is a rare stone, and is known to have been early exported to England from that place. It still exists as pavement in the streets of London.

Through the kindness of Miss Swann I have here a careful drawing of the font at Zedelghem, near Bruges, from which we see clearly how close is the relation between it and ours at Winchester. (See Plates.) We see at once how correct is M. Saintenoy when he says that “Les fonts baptismaux de Lincoln et de Winchester ont la même origine belge et tournaisienne. Pour ceux de Winchester, c'est incontestable”; and again, “Les fonts de Winchester présentent avec ceux de Zedelghem et de Termonde des analogies telles qu'il n'est pas possible de douter de leur origine commune. C'est frappant.”

Let us for a moment compare the two, Winchester and Zedelghem. It will be seen that they are not mere copies of one another, but independent works; carved, however, at the same time and by the same hand. In the Zedelghem font all the four short columns at the angles are carved with spiral ribs or twists: so are two of the Winchester columns. It looks as if the other two had been replaced at some time by two plain and uncarved pillars. The large central column is identical in both. The line-ornament on the bases is the same, though the Zedelghem font has also interesting heads at the four angles, which have no parallel with us. The bas-reliefs offer the nearest resemblance. Both portray St. Nicolas; both treat his legend in the same way, though with interesting variations of detail and arrangement. The two ships, with those in them, are almost identical in shape, rigging, and ornament, with the same heads of beasts at bow and stern. But while the Zedelghem ship shows no steering gear, ours has a very interesting and modern-looking rudder, over the tiller of which the

steersman has his arm. The ships seem to indicate that the carver had before him some drawing or model of a ship which he, in the inland town, copied with exactitude; but, being unfamiliar with shipping, in one case forgot the rudder. The king's son, at the bottom of the sea, is seen on both fonts. At Zedelghem he throws his arms out; at Winchester he clasps the fatal cup of gold. There are strong resemblances between the building shown on both fonts; they are said to be meant for the cathedral church at Myra in Lycia. The legend of the three young men is very similarly treated, though the arrangement of the figures is different. The executioner with his axe, and the female figure behind him, have most minute resemblances in dress. The Zedelghem font places this incident in a remarkable, late Norman architectural setting, which is altogether wanting from our font. And lastly, the dowering of the three poor virgins, though differently treated, is on both. The conclusion is irresistible,—the two fonts came out of the same workshop, and were probably both carved by the same hand.

There is a similar striking resemblance between the font at St. Michael's, Southampton, and that at Dendermonde, not far from Ghent, the ornamentation of the two being almost identical.

(5.) Where were these fonts, so remarkable and so interesting a group, carved? Everything points to one spot—Tournay in Hainault. The stone can certainly be traced to the beds of dark, calcareous marble still quarried along the banks of the Scheldt, above and below Tournay. The lines of distribution agree with Tournay as a centre; and the artistic and commercial history of that city strongly confirms our contention.

At Tournay there was a very remarkable early school of stone carving, the influence of which can be traced far and wide. "Les monuments de Tournay" (says a writer in the *Messager des Sciences, etc., de la Belgique*, the Belgian archaeological journal) "sont les incunables de l'archéologie de l'ouest de l'Europe. Ils sont à la Gaule septentrionale et à la Germanie ce que sont les monuments de Byzance à l'empire de l'Orient." And M. Cloquet (*Tournai et le Tournaisis*, p. 37) tells us that as early as the eleventh century there was well established

at Tournay "a school of art which taught the Lombard style, and became renowned far and wide."

The new choir of Tournay Cathedral was begun in the bluestone of the district in the year 1110, and was not completed till eighty years later. The transepts were built about the same time, and remain, though the choir has given place to a fine specimen of later architecture. The Cathedral, a noble structure with five Romanesque towers, shows everywhere that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Tournay had a very vigorous school of sculptors in the hard stone of the district. Their work takes mainly the form of *bassi reliefi*, executed in a somewhat *naïve* and simple style. The decoration of doorways and tympana, etc. (mainly twelfth century work), presents many points of artistic similarity to the carvings on our font.

There is yet another way in which we can with much probability attach our font to Tournay : the point has already been touched on in this paper. This is, the distribution of Tournay work, and the way by which it reached England.

The chief period of vigorous art-life at Tournay may be said to begin from A.D. 1146, when Pope Eugenius III reconstituted the bishopric, disconnecting the city and territory from the diocese of Noyon in France. The place had a full share of those troubles which were inevitable to a city standing on the very frontier-line between France and the Provinces. This precarious position, however, was favourable to the distribution of Tournaisian art.

The Scheldt at Tournay, a considerable river, navigable for small ships, was the roadway by which the bulky products of the marble quarries were transported north and south. There are many proofs of the extension of Tournay art and architecture: wherever works of skill and delicacy were needed, Tournay men were sent for, and the Tournay artisans seem to have liked to travel with their own materials. This is strikingly illustrated at Bruges, where even the streets were paved with the black stone from the quarries; and where, a little later than our period, the Tournay brothers Van Boghem came with their skill and their marble to build the apsidal chapels of the Church of St. Saviour. A cer-

tain type of window, not uncommon at Bruges, was styled “la fenêtre tournaisienne”.

The stone was brought from the Scheldt to Ghent, and carried thence by road or canal in different directions. Thus the blue marble fonts were distributed, one at Dendermonde eastward, the other at Zedelghem westward, from Ghent; and from Ghent down the Scheldt to the sea went those fonts which were destined for England. One such shipment we can trace to the Lincolnshire coast (probably some point on the Wash), whence it was forwarded inland by water. In this way the font at Thornton Curtis (not far from the coast) and that in Lincoln Cathedral, both of them specimens of this twelfth century art in Tournay stone, arrived on our coasts. Another shipment took a more southerly line, and reached Southampton, along the trade-route followed by the Venetian galleys. This consignment of fonts was probably bought in the lump by one of the Bishops of Winchester, for there are four of the series in Hampshire, all placed in churches closely connected with the Bishop, viz., the cathedral church, and the three twelfth century churches of St. Michael (Southampton), East Meon, and St. Mary Bourne, all in the Bishop's gift.

Commercial relations between Belgium and England had been much quickened by the first Crusade. It had infused new qualities into art; new subjects became popular, new fashions of work arose. Our earlier Norman architecture had been severe, almost devoid of ornament. In the twelfth century much elaborate carving was introduced, as different from the finer art of the Early English (or First Pointed) churches as it was from the rude sculpture of the earlier Norman.

If it be urged against Tournay that these fonts are not now found there and in the Tournaisis, there is an easy reply. There is hardly a church in the district which has not been rebuilt in modern times.

We cannot tell whether these Tournay fonts in Hampshire were wrought to order, or whether they were brought round, after the manner of the commerce of that day, by itinerant merchants. They were very bulky for the average trader. But we may venture to guess at the name of the person who gave these four fonts. It can

only be a guess. I have shown that it apparently was one of the Bishops of Winchester. Now between 1150 and 1200 there were only three Bishops of Winchester : Henry of Blois, A.D. 1129-71; Richard Toclive, 1174-88; and Godfrey Lucy, 1189-1204. Of these, Godfrey Lucy may be omitted, as we know that he was a modern man, devoted to the new "Early English" style then coming in. He would not have cared for these archaic-looking pieces of sculpture. It lies, then, between Henry of Blois and Richard Toclive. Tocliffe left behind him St. Mary Magdalene Hospital, which (though now unhappily swept away) is known to have been profusely ornamented in the late Norman style of art ; and the shape and position of the mitres on our fonts point to a time late in the twelfth century. So that the donor may well have been Richard of Ilchester, 1174-88. On the other hand, Henry of Blois is known to have been a very munificent lover of foreign art. He collected things ancient and modern ; he enriched his churches, notably the Cathedral. "Nemo...in rebus ecclesiasticis augendis vel decorandis sollicitior."¹ We must, therefore, conclude that either this splendid Prelate, King Stephen's brother, or his successor, Bishop Richard, has the credit of having recognised the beauty of these black stone fonts, and of having placed them in our midst.

To sum up this lengthy paper. Our black marble font is of Belgian origin, coming from the Tournay quarries. It was carved at Tournay somewhere between the years 1150 and 1200, probably between 1170-1200. It has its twin-brother at Zedelghem, near Bruges ; and we owe it, with the others of the group, either to Henry of Blois or Richard (Tocliffe) of Ilchester.

Few fonts have done so little work. In monastic days baptisms were naturally a matter of no great interest to the Benedictines in charge of the Cathedral Church. They had no use for it themselves, and would scarcely have allowed the common folk of the city to have their babes christened in it ; while, on the other hand, great personages, as we see in the account of the baptism of Prince Arthur in 1486, did not condescend to make use of it. Since the Reformation it has been used by a few

¹ *Winchester Annals, s. a. 1171.*

families living in or connected with the Close ; even so, the use of it has been very rare. During the ten years I have been here there have been only fifteen baptisms. It is, therefore, doubtful whether before this present font the Cathedral had one at all. At the west end of the nave, against the last pier on the north side, where the holy water-stoup stood, may still be seen the base-stone of a small font of early date. The displaced earlier font, if there was one at all, may have been put here afterwards, and used as the holy water-basin.

The subject of these blue marble fonts is one of considerable interest, which would well repay further investigation. I had intended to visit Tournay and the other places in Belgium in which these fonts are still to be found ; but extreme pressure of work and lack of time made it impossible for me to carry out my wish. We shall, I feel sure, hear from Mr. Romilly Allen much that will throw light on the subject, when he approaches it from the side of the art displayed ; and I hope that this visit of the British Archæological Association will have had the effect of clearing up, if not completely, at least in great part, the puzzles which have so long surrounded that well-known "crux antiquariorum", the font of Winchester Cathedral.

FONTS OF THE WINCHESTER TYPE.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A.S.COT.

(Read 2nd August 1893.)

THE font in Winchester Cathedral forms one of a group of specimens of twelfth century ecclesiastical art, possessing certain characteristics in common, by means of which they can be immediately recognised as belonging to a type quite distinct from any other. As the Winchester font is the most important member of the group, I propose that it shall give its name to the type.

Fonts of the Winchester type exist at the following places in England :—Winchester Cathedral, East Meon, St. Mary Bourne, Southampton (St. Michael's), Ipswich (St. Peter's), Lincoln Cathedral, Thornton Curtis.

The geographical distribution of this type of font shows that it is more common in Hampshire than elsewhere, and that the remaining examples are found only in the counties of Suffolk and Lincolnshire, on the eastern side of England.

Fonts of a similar kind are known to exist on the Continent, at Zedelghem¹ and Termonde² in Belgium, and at Vermand³ and Montdidier.⁴ These have been compared with the English group by M. Paul Saintenoy, the Secretary of the Brussels Archæological Society, in his *Préliminaires à l'étude de l'affiliation des formes des Fonts Baptismaux*.

The fonts at Winchester and Zedelghem, near Bruges, are perhaps the most nearly allied, both as regards their form and the subjects of the figure-sculpture.

The object of the present paper is to institute a comparison between the different fonts of the Winchester

¹ *Bulletin du Comité Archéologique du Diocèse de Bruges*, premier Cahier, p. 12. Bruges, 1854. Du Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie*.

² Paul Saintenoy, *Fonds Baptismaux*, Pl. 9.

³ E. Fleury, *Antiquités et Monuments du Département de l'Aisne*, p. 276.

⁴ De Caumont, *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, Atlas, Pt. 6, Pl. 87, 1841; and Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire Raisonné d'Architecture*, vol. v, p. 536.

type, in England, as regards their form, dimensions, architectural features, ornamental details, and figure-sculpture.

There is scarcely any variation in the form and general outline of these fonts, which consist of three parts, namely, (1), *the bowl*, round on the inside, and square on the outside; (2), *the stem*, composed of five supporting columns of circular cross-section,—the larger one being under the centre of the bowl, and the four smaller ones under the projecting corners; and (3), *the base*, which is square, like the bowl.

I think that we shall all be ready to admit that this form is an extremely beautiful one; and a word or two as to how it was developed may not be out of place here. The simplest kind of font is a single block of stone hollowed out so as to form a receptacle for the water required for the rite of baptism, and resting on the ground. This primitive shape may have been suggested by a wooden tub, or by a stone well-head, like those to be seen at Venice. In order to raise the top of a font of this description to the level at which the officiating priest would not need to stoop down, either a single block of great size would have to be used, or a smaller block would have to be placed on a pedestal. In this way the bowl, the stem, and the base were differentiated architecturally. A greater contrast, and therefore a better æsthetic effect, is produced by making the stem of a different shape from the bowl; *i.e.*, a square bowl on a round stem would look better than a square bowl on a square stem. The limits of the several architectural parts of the fonts are also defined by making the stem of less diameter than the bowl or the base. Now, when this is done, and a square bowl is placed on a round stem, the corners will be found to project unduly: hence the necessity for the disengaged shafts at the four angles.¹

In fonts of the Winchester type the bowl and the capitals of the supporting columns are formed out of one stone, each of the columns are separate stones, and the

¹ The font at Castlemartin, in Pembrokeshire, shows another way of solving the problem. The bowl is square at the top, but hemispherical below, each of the four sides being semicircular; so that the sharp corners are got rid of altogether, instead of being supported by small columns.

bases of the columns are all carved on one square block at the bottom.

The chief dimensions of the fonts are as follow :

	Diam. of Bowl outside.	Diam. of Bowl inside.	Depth of Bowl outside.	Depth of Bowl inside.	Height of Columns	Total Height.	Diam. of Base.
	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.
Winchester .	3 3	2 4	1 6½	1 3	1 6	3 2	
E. Meon .	3 4	2 9	1 9	1 0	0 10	3 3	3 4
St. Mary Bourne	3 7		1 5	1 3			
Southampton	3 4	2 6	1 7		1 4	3 6	3 2
Ipswich .	3 6½	2 9	1 7	1 0			
Lincoln .	3 6		1 7		1 1	3 6	3 9
Thornton Curtis							

It appears that the font at St. Mary Bourne is the largest of the group. The average diameter of the square bowls, outside, is 3 ft. 6 in.; that at St. Mary Bourne exceeding this dimension by 1 in., those at Ipswich and Lincoln being exactly that size, and those at East Meon and Southampton being just 2 in. under it.

The capitals of the large central columns of these fonts are either of plain, rounded section, as at Lincoln, Thornton Curtis, and Winchester, or have a double moulding



of the same shape, with a square moulding between, as at Ipswich. The capitals of the large central columns have somewhat the appearance of the bottom of a hemispherical bowl, and thus give an outward suggestion of the round shape of the receptacle for the water within. In the case of the font at St. Mary Bourne the capital is ornamented with mouldings running diagonally, like the strands of rope in a cable.

The capitals of the four disengaged shafts at the corners are ornamented either with parallel striations, as at Ipswich and Lincoln, or with conventional leaves, as at East Meon, St. Mary Bourne.

The bases of both the large and small columns ring the changes of the same designs as those found on the capitals.

The large central columns at Winchester, Southampton, and Lincoln are ornamented with horizontal mouldings of different sections; and the small, disengaged shafts are plain in most instances; but at Winchester they have a cable-moulding.

The small shafts are not vertical, being inclined inwards at the top. This slight batter gives an appearance of stability and strength to the whole.

The ornamental features of the fonts are elaborated with the same care as the architectural details. The portions decorated are the four rectangular panels forming the vertical sides of the square bowl, and the horizontal surface of the top, bounded by a square and the inscribed circle.

The sculpture consists of figure-subjects taken from Scripture and the lives of Saints, symbolical birds and beasts, fabulous creatures, and conventional foliage, offering quite a mine of wealth to the student of Christian art.

The figure-subjects on two of the sides of the font at East Meon are purely Scriptural. The scenes are taken from the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis, and are arranged from right to left, beginning on the north side, and continuing on the east side, the subjects being as follows:—

On the North Side.—(1.) The creation of Adam; a group of two figures; the Almighty on the right, represented as Christ with the cruciferous nimbus, placing His right hand on Adam's left shoulder. Adam is on the left, holding up the right hand, and hiding his nakedness with the other.

(2.) The creation of Eve; a group of three figures; the Almighty standing on the right, and Adam lying down on the left, with Eve coming out of his side. The Almighty is placing His right hand on Eve's left shoulder in the same way as He places it on Adam's shoulder in the preceding scene.

(3.) The Temptation of Adam and Eve; a group of two figures, a tree, and serpent; the Tree of Life in the centre, with the serpent coiled round it. On the right, Eve receiving the apple from the serpent with the right hand, and covering her nakedness with a fig-leaf held in the left hand; and on the left, Adam raising the apple

to his mouth with the left hand, and hiding his nakedness with a fig-leaf held in the other.

On the East Side.—(1.) The Expulsion from Paradise ; a group of three figures and a building ; the angel standing with a drawn sword in front of the gates of Paradise (which are conventionally treated as a Byzantine architectural composition), driving Adam and Eve before him, who are still hiding their nakedness with fig-leaves held in the right hand.

(2.) The Curse after the Fall ; a group of three figures. On the right, the angel showing Adam, who is on the left, how to dig with a spade ; beyond, on the left, Eve with a distaff and spindle. Adam and Eve are represented wearing clothes in this last scene.

The details of the costumes, buildings, spinning and digging implements, are all shown with the most minute care, and are well worthy of study. The ornamental border of the cloak worn by the Almighty, in the scene of the Creation of Adam, corresponds almost exactly with that on the robe of St. Michael on a twelfth century sepulchral slab in Ely Cathedral.¹ This slab is also of the same kind of hard, black marble of which the fonts of the Winchester type are made ; so that it is possible that the Ely slab may belong to the same school of design.

The only other Scriptural (or rather semi-Scriptural) subjects which occur upon the group of fonts we are now considering, are the symbols of the four Evangelists.

Upon the west side of the font at St. Michael's, Southampton, are three circular medallions : the first, on the left, containing the eagle of St. John ; the second, in the centre, the winged lion of St. Mark ; and the third, on the right, the angel of St. Matthew. All the figures have the nimbus, and the eagle holds a book, so that there is no doubt as to the meaning of the sculptures.

The winged lion of St. Mark is extremely grotesque in appearance, and, except for the nimbus, could not be distinguished from the monstrous creatures in the medallions on the three remaining sides of the font ; thus affording us a very good object lesson on the danger of jumping to the conclusion that because these beasts seem so uncouth to our modern eyes, therefore they cannot

¹ J. R. Allen's "Early Christian Symbolism", p. 272.

have been used to symbolise the most sacred things. The same lesson is to be learnt from the sculptured friezes on the font in Lincoln Cathedral, where, amongst the most incongruous surroundings, are to be seen the winged bull of St. Luke and the winged lion of St. Mark facing each other, and with books beneath their feet. In this case the nimbus is absent altogether.

From Scriptural subjects we descend to legends of Saints upon the Winchester font. The first wild guess at the meaning of the sculptures on the Winchester font was made by Gough in the *Vetusta Monuments* (vol. ii), who did not hesitate to say that he saw in them episodes from the life of Birinus, the apostle of the West Saxons, and Bishop of Winchester and Dorchester A.D. 635-50. It was left for Milner, in his *History of Winchester* (1798), to give what I am inclined to think is the true explanation, namely that the scenes are taken from the life of St. Nicholas of Myra, and are as follow :—

On the West Side.—(1.) The story of the childless nobleman who made a vow that he would present a gold cup to St. Nicholas if a son and heir was born to him, represented in two scenes,—(a). At the right end of the panel a ship containing three figures, the captain at the helm, the nobleman at the prow (holding up both hands in astonishment), and between them a figure with a youthful or clean-shaven face, contrasting with those of the other two, who wear beards. The rudder and the prow of the vessel terminate at the top in beasts' heads, and the mast is surmounted by a cross. Below the rudder, on the left, is the nobleman's son, who has fallen overboard, and is lying horizontally in the water, with the cup in his right hand.

(b.) At the left end of the panel, the nobleman's son, still holding the cup, being restored to life by St. Nicholas, who wears the vestments of a bishop, and holds a crozier in his left hand.

(2.) The story of the wicked hotel-keeper who, when provisions were scarce, used to steal little children, and, after murdering them, served up their dismembered remains as food for his guests; represented in two scenes: (a), to the right of St. Nicholas and the nobleman's son with the cup, the wicked host holding an axe in his hand,

over the heads of the three students appearing out of the salting-tub, and arranged vertically, one below the other. Behind the right shoulder of the wicked host is to be seen the equally detestable hostess, and partner in his crimes.

(b.) St. Nicholas restoring the three students to life.¹

On the South Side.—The story of St. Nicholas saving the three daughters of a poor nobleman from leading a life of shame, represented in one scene. At the right end of the panel is a very elaborate church ornamented with arcades of round-headed arches, and having a door with wrought iron straps and keyhole-plate. St. Nicholas, habited as a bishop, stands in front of the church, and the poor nobleman, who is kneeling at his feet, receives a purse of gold from St. Nicholas with the left hand, and conveys it² with the right hand to his daughter. The two other daughters are standing close to the first, holding each other's hands sympathetically ; and at the extreme left end of the panel is to be seen the bridegroom with a hawk resting on his wrist, ready to marry one of the ladies that St. Nicholas' generosity has provided with a suitable dowry.

The pattern on the borders of the robes worn by St. Nicholas and the bridegroom corresponds with that on the East Meon font and the sepulchral slab at Ely Cathedral, already referred to.

Subjects taken from the lives of Saints are extremely rare in Norman sculpture, the only examples that I know of being on the fonts at Cotham in Yorkshire, and St. Nicholas Church, Brighton. On the former is sculptured St. Margaret and the Dragon, and the martyrdom of St. Lawrence ; and on the latter, the story of the Devil revenging himself on St. Nicholas for destroying the image of the cursed Diana, by appearing to some mariners in a ship, in the guise of a woman (the evil and foul Diana), and giving them a vessel containing inflammable oil, to convey to the shrine of St. Nicholas.

¹ These two subjects are liable to be confused with the story of St. Nicholas' interference to prevent the execution of the three innocent men who were ordered to be put to death by the Prefect of Myra in the time of Constantine.

² Two separate purses are shown, in the same way as in the scene of the Temptation of Adam and Eve two apples are represented in order to convey the idea of an action taking place continuously.

It would be interesting to collect together all the different instances of representations of scenes from the life of St. Nicholas (more especially the early ones), with a view of comparing together the various ways of treating each scene. It is very doubtful whether any such representations could be found of earlier date than the twelfth century. In ecclesiastical sculpture of this period subjects from the life of St. Nicholas occur on a slab built into the walls of the Church of St. Nicholas at Bari in Italy, and on the font at Zedelghem, near Bruges. Mr. W. de Gray Birch, in his *Early Drawings and Illuminations in the British Museum*, gives a large number of references to MSS. containing illuminations of St. Nicholas, but there are only one of the twelfth century (Eg., 1139) and two of the thirteenth (Add. 21,926 and Add. 28,748). Mr. Birch also points out in his paper on "The Legendary Life of St. Nicholas", in the *Journal of the Association* (vols. xlvi, p. 185, and xliv, p. 222, Plate), the existence of a stained glass window of the fifteenth century at Hillesden Church, Buckinghamshire, with a series of the miracles of St. Nicholas.

The remaining symbolic subjects on the group of fonts of the Winchester type we have to consider, consist of birds, beasts, and mythical creatures. These are found, in some cases, on the upper horizontal surface of the bowl, filling two out of the four spandrels between the round basin and the square sides, and in others on the vertical sides. On the fonts at Lincoln Cathedral and Thornton Curtis each side forms a single panel containing a row of three or four creatures; on the font at St. Peter's, Ipswich, three creatures are arranged on each side, but with a small column between; on the fonts at Winchester Cathedral and St. Michael's, Southampton, they are enclosed within circular medallions, three on each side; and on the fonts at St. Mary Bourne and East Meon they form a narrow frieze above an arcade of round arches.

The following is an analysis of the various birds, beasts, etc., which are sculptured on the fonts:—

<i>Birds, singly</i>	Winchester
" in pairs, with necks bent over				:		Winchester
" in pairs, pecking at bunch of grapes					:	Winchester

<i>Birds</i> , in pairs, drinking from a vase	Winchester East Moon St. Mary Bourne East Meon Winchester Southampton
„ a pair of, facing each other	
<i>Beasts</i> , with tail curved upwards above back, and head turned backwards	Winchester Southampton
„ with tail curved downwards, between legs, and head turned backwards	Southampton
„ with tail curved downwards, between legs, and head looking forwards	Lincoln
„ with tail curved downwards, between legs, and head shown full face	Ipswich Southampton
<i>Winged beasts</i>	Lincoln Lincoln
<i>Griffin</i>	
<i>Griffin-like creature with tail terminating in serpent's head</i>	Lincoln
<i>Dragons</i>	East Meon
<i>Hares (?)</i>	East Meon

It would be quite impossible to explain the symbolism of all these creatures without exceeding the limits allowed for the present paper. I must, therefore, be content merely to point out the fact that such things were considered by the mediæval sculptor suitable for the adornment of one of the most sacred portions of an ecclesiastical building, and to be placed side by side with subjects taken from Scripture and from the lives of Saints, shows that these creatures, however grotesque they may appear to us, were really intended to symbolise Christian truths of the deepest import. There is ample proof that such was the case by the large number of early treatises on zoölogy *moralisé*, known as mediæval Bestiaries, still in existence.

How little distinction was drawn between the symbolism founded on Scripture and that founded on the animal creation is shown by the apparently incongruous way in which the symbols of the four Evangelists are jumbled up with griffins and other strange creatures on the fonts at Lincoln and Southampton. The Agnus Dei also occurs amongst the surroundings, equally out of keeping, on the tympana and other details of Norman doorways.

A pair of doves drinking from a vase is not an uncommon symbol in Byzantine art; but except on these fonts, the only other instance I know of, where it occurs in England, is on a sepulchral slab at Bishopston in Sussex.

The only remaining portion of the decorative features of the fonts to be noticed is the conventional foliage. This is found only in one case, at St. Mary Bourne, on the sides of the bowl; and in all the others on the upper horizontal face, forming a circular wreath round the basin, and filling in two or four of the spandrels. At St. Peter's, Ipswich, the basin is surrounded by a plain, moulded band; and at Lincoln Cathedral by a moulded band with ornamental rosettes at intervals. The foliage is of the usual kind which characterises Norman sculpture; but there is none of that elaborate interlacing of stems that is to be seen in much of the English work of the twelfth century. The foliage on the font at St. Mary Bourne is particularly bold and effective, and seems to be intended for a highly conventionalised vine. It is very like the foliage on the font at Montdidier in France. At East Meon the fleur-de-lys is introduced above the arcading on the side.

Some of the details of the fonts of the Winchester type are rather of the nature of architectural enrichment than pure decoration; such, for instance, as the arcades at East Meon and St. Mary Bourne, and the columns between the beasts at St. Peter's, Ipswich. Some of the pillars of the arcading are ornamented with mouldings running spirally.

A variety of geometrical patterns occur in different parts of the designs sculptured on the fonts, such as the following.



The material of which the fonts are made is extremely hard, and capable of showing the finest lines, which the sculptor has taken advantage of to put an extraordinary amount of finish into the details of his work; reminding

one of the Assyrian bas-reliefs, in this respect, more than anything else. Thus the texture of the plumage of the birds, the hairy skins of the beasts, the tresses of the women, and the beards of the men, are all indicated conscientiously by arrangements of fine lines. The vertical folds of the drapery of the figures are also treated in a peculiar manner by running an incised line along the edge of each fold where it turns over.

I hope that I have now succeeded in showing that the group of fonts of what I have ventured to call the Winchester type possess certain art-characteristics in common, by which they are allied to each other, and at the same time separated very distinctly from other examples of Norman sculpture in England. Any one who has had the advantage of perusing M. Paul Saintenoy's valuable work on fonts will at once recognise the truth of his statement, that the type is a foreign one. This has been noticed by other writers; but I do not think that any one has remarked upon the similarity of the art of these fonts to that of the twelfth century sepulchral slabs at Ely Cathedral and Bridlington Priory in Yorkshire. Now that attention has been called to the matter perhaps other instances may become known of works belonging to the same school of design.

In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the very kind help I have received, whilst preparing this paper, from the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester, the Rev. Precentor Venables, M. Paul Saintenoy, and Miss Emma Swann.

WINCHESTER AND THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

BY S. W. KERSHAW, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Read August 1893.*)

THE study of the territorial changes of the different dioceses is one of the most interesting phases of Church antiquarian history, and we cannot but examine any old map, or read some monkish chronicler, without noticing this alteration from early years downwards. The diocese of Lincoln formerly extended from that county as far as a remote parish in Buckinghamshire, near the Middlesex border, while that of Salisbury stretched into Berkshire, including Reading, Newbury, and Windsor, now under Oxford.

In Sarum diocese was once a bishopric called Rainsbury (a town near Marlborough), and the Bishops were called "Episcopi Sunningensis", and had an estate at Sonning in Berks (whence the name), and quite recently the Prelates of Salisbury had a residence there. This little see of Rainsbury (within the larger one of Sarum) included, in the tenth century, such portions of Wilts and Berks as were at that time in the territory of the West Saxons; and during the one hundred and sixty years' existence of this unique Wiltshire episcopate, it numbered among its Bishops three who afterwards became Archbishops of Canterbury, viz., Odo, Siric, and Elfric.

The fact that parts of Sarum diocese, once in Hampshire, are now in that of Winchester, brings the interest very close home to us; and as we consider the varying fortunes of the Channel Isles, their further relations with an ancient French and English diocese is fully illustrated. From having formed part of Normandy, which was united to England under Henry I, these Islands have had an independent history, maintaining their own peculiar local rights and privileges under whatever see they were placed. When the Islands were removed from the diocese of Dol¹ (the metropolis of all Bretagne), they were

¹ Instances of the changed boundaries of the sees might be quoted all exemplifying the relations of Church property.

placed under Coutances, where they remained for several hundred years, and the consecration of many Island churches was performed by the Bishops of Coutances in the presence of many dignitaries, whose names were registered in a document called *Le Livre Noir*.

From 1496-99, during the episcopate of Bishop Blyth (Sarum), they were in that diocese, as shown by a Bull of Alexander VI, dated 1496, a copy of which is preserved among the Lambeth MSS. (No. 585).¹ The Register of Bishop Langton² of Winchester also contains this Bull (a transcript), from which it appears that at the same time Calais was annexed to the see of Canterbury.

The present notes do not claim research among the Winchester archives, which are so rich in ecclesiastical lore, but are taken from other and hitherto unexamined sources, viz., the documents at the Bodleian, Cambridge, and Lambeth Libraries, affording a fresh insight into the ecclesiastical government of the Islands, and adding another link to that chain of history which recognises the ancient see of Winchester as its fountain-head.

In 1568 the union of the Channel Isles to Winchester took place; those Isles so graphically described by the late Victor Hugo as "ces morceaux de la France, tombés dans la mer, et ramassés par l'Angleterre"; and from the above period their chief interest develops. The copy of the instrument of union, dated 11 March 1568, recites, among other things, that the "Bishop of Winchester, being constituted 'Ordinary' in the said Isles, and his successors, shall from time to time execute that charge, and upon presentment from the Queen's Majestie shall institute, induct, and authorise to deans, ministers, and curates, and schoolmasters, such as of his good discretion may be thought fit to execute those charges according to the language, country, quality, and disposition of the people there." Ecclesiastical causes were to be deter-

¹ "Historia quæ latè de Statu ecclesiastico Insularum Guernsey et Jersey." ("Bulla Alexandri VI subjiciens dietas Insulas sedi episcopalì Sarisburensi.")

² Bishop Langton will be remembered as Bishop of St. David's, then of Salisbury, next Master of St. Julian's Hospital, Southampton, hereafter noticed. He was a supporter of the "new learning", and was appointed to succeed Archbishop Morton of Canterbury, but died before his elevation.

mined by commission, and not to be sent to England, according to the ancient usage of the Isles.

The long connection of Jersey and Guernsey with France had naturally tended to make their constitution more Norman than English, and peculiar customs of law and tenure exist and still linger, and have been exhaustively treated in an able work entitled *L'Ancien Coutume de Normandie*, edited by W. L. deGruchy (published in 1881).

The ecclesiastical annals of the Islands begin to be more extended after their union with the see of Winchester, both as regards the Anglican and the "French Reformed Church", which latter has a long history of its own, requiring an individual and lengthened dissertation.

In Elizabeth's reign "La Reforme" may be said to have taken firm ground by initiating a "Discipline" and Consistory of its own. The Queen permitted to the strangers the use of St. Helier's Church, though she did not approve of the services elsewhere. During her reign the islanders were prosperous. The noble Castle of Elizabeth (named after the Queen) was then erected, and Sark was given to Philip de Carteret as a reward for his meritorious services. James I ordered the re-establishment of "Forms of Prayer" after the English Church, with certain qualifications that might suit the popular feeling. This action seems to have been taken in consequence of the growing spread of the Reformed doctrines, which were naturally at variance with the too rigid exaction of established usage and precedents.

With both communities the Bishops of Winchester have played a prominent part, acting as referees in conjunction with the Governors, Bailiffs, and Jurats of the Islands; and among those who claimed such distinction may be named Bishops Montague, Mews, Trelawney, Hoadly, and others.

The Deans of Jersey exercised spiritual jurisdiction and held ecclesiastical courts, and the right of appeal, after judgment, was reserved to the Bishops of Winchester; and in the case of vacancy, to the Archbishops of Canterbury. Among the Deans (after the Reformation) have been the well-known names of Bandinel, Le Breton, Dupré, and others. Under Dean Bandinel the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which had lapsed, was restored to the spiri-

tual courts, and the "Canons of Conformity" ratified by James I.¹

These Canons had not been re-enacted without trouble in ecclesiastical quarters. Archbishop Abbot, to palliate the grievances, revived the office and authority of the Dean, and ordered that the Book of Common Prayer should be printed in French, and used in the foreign churches. The first Dean under this new scheme, Dr. Bandinel, was authorised to exercise this jurisdiction.

Bishop Horne was instrumental, with Lord Burleigh, in gaining for the Walloons the "Domus Dei" at Southampton, which to this day retains its French service, and carries us back to the time when it was known as "The Chapel of St. Julian". It was in this edifice that Philip of Spain, on his landing at Southampton, offered up thanksgiving for his safe voyage to England, and afterwards proceeded to Winchester for the royal marriage. The Registers of this French church (published by the Huguenot Society of London (1890), and edited by the late Mr. Marett Godfray), are replete with genealogical lore, and include many Jersey or Guernsey names in the lists of baptisms, marriages, and several occurrences of local importance.²

The Governors of the Islands have also had much influence on its Church affairs. At the instigation of the Duke of Somerset, one of the earliest, the French translation of the Book of Common Prayer was made in 1553, and the phrase, "*pour les îles de sa majesté*", appeared on the title-page. The work is very rare, and was issued by order of Edward VI.

Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Walter Raleigh held the post in Elizabeth's reign, and Lord Carew in the time of James I; and though their rule was generally impartial, that of a succeeding Governor, Sir John Peyton, was marked by severe measures on those who would not conform to the "Canons and Constitutions".³

The Deans of the Islands have at times harshly exer-

¹ Lambeth MS. 744, "Government of the Churches in the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey" (in French).

² There are also valuable papers in the Transactions of the Huguenot Society, referring to this church and settlement.

³ "Letters against the New Canons for the Island of Guernsey", etc. (Lambeth MS. 929, fo. 19-33.)

cised their rule, especially Jean de Saumarez in 1673; and in some cases appeals were rightfully made to the Bishops of Winchester, and occasionally to the Archbishops of Canterbury. The existence of the two separate religions in the Isles could not fail at times to cause tension, which was overcome according to the temper and thought of those both in clerical and civil authority.

The framework of the ecclesiastical government centred in what was called "The Canons and Constitutions", which were revised and adopted from those used in the English Church, for the special wants of the Islands. Those of 1603 were arranged by Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury and Bishop Montague of Winchester. They were printed in French in 1624, and reprinted in 1661, on the accession of Charles II. After the English tenure of the Islands several circumstances contributed to give them a closer association with our country, one of which was that Charles I arranged that three endowments, in Exeter, Jesus, and Pembroke Colleges, Oxford, be made for scholars from Jersey and Guernsey. The munificent Bishop Morley, of Winchester, also gave three scholarships in Pembroke College for islanders.

Charles II sent forth a declaration of loyalty for Jersey, and also authorised the use of the revised "Canons and Constitutions".

The interval of the Civil War had caused a reactionary feeling in the Islands. The Liturgy was discontinued, and less desire to be governed by too stringent measures, which were naturally alien to the members of the Reformed Church of France. This feeling was intensified by the subsequent arrival of hundreds, who, driven from the cruel persecutions under Louis XIV in 1685, naturally sought those shores which were nearest their native land.

The effect of "The New Canons", designed in the year 1700 by Bishop Mews of Winchester, for Guerusey, which had always retained more of the Calvinistic sentiment than the other Islands, brought down disapproval, and letters directed against them are preserved among the Lambeth MSS. So far had this feeling reached that one Monsieur Picot, Minister of Torteval in Guernsey, addressed William III on the subject, and was followed by

a signed petition from the inhabitants to the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Mews), and finally by an appeal to Archbishop Tenison.¹

The existence, side by side, of the English with that of the foreign Reformed Church, forms a striking episode in these ecclesiastical annals, and called into play many incidents which disclosed more fully political undercurrents and the complexity of State correspondence.

The constitution of the refugee churches is an essay in itself, and may be best studied in the recent learned work of Baron F. de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge* (1892). Many scattered documents, however, relate to the internal government of the Island, as MS. DD (xi, 43), University Library, Cambridge ; a paper book entitled *Registres des Actes et Colloques des Eglises de l'Isle de Jersey* (1577-1614) ; and in the Lambeth Collection are two MSS., viz., 470, "Discipline ecclésiastique des Isles de Jersey et Guernsey"; and No. 744, "The Government of the Churches in Isles of Jersey and Guernsey" (in French), dedicated to James I.

The antiquarian societies of Jersey and Guernsey have published serviceable matter in their *Bulletins* touching the *Colloques* and *Actes*, while the Rev. G. E. Lee of Guernsey has made learned researches on the *Discipline des Isles de la Manche* and the *Actes du Consistoire de St. André* (1615-55). On the general antiquity and historical survey of the Isles, the work by M. Dupont, *Histoire du Cotentin* (Caen, 1889), is most valuable, while the Rev. Philip Falle's account of Jersey (published in 1694) has long been known. The earlier work of Peter Heylin (the biographer of Archbishop Laud), *A Survey of Two Islands* (published in 1656), revealed the state of Church government and the desire for conformity.

These notes may have thrown some side-lights on the connection of the Channel Islands first with Normandy, and then with the ancient see in that fair Cathedral city of Winchester, whose long historical fame and treasured archives claim a first place in any researches of the past.

¹ This Primate on several occasions showed his warm sympathy with the refugees by his efforts in 1696, on behalf of the Weavers' Company at Canterbury, to promote their trade, and notably in his furtherance of the Royal Bounty from William and Mary, to aid the distressed fugitives from France.

THE STADIUM ON THE PALATINE.

BY J. RUSSELL FORBES, ESQ.

(*Read 6th Dec. 1893.*)

IN commemoration of the silver wedding of their Majesties the King and Queen of Italy, the excavation of the Stadium on the Palatine Hill was completed. The work was commenced in 1868 by the Baron Visconti, continued in 1871 and 1878 by Signor Rosa, and completed under Signor Martini, the Minister of Public Instruction, April 22nd, by Prof. Gatti.

A *stadium* was a place devoted to foot-races, and took its name from a *stade*, or measure of 125 paces, or 625 Roman feet (Pliny, ii, 23, 21), equal to 606 ft. 9 in. in English measurement. It was, however, sometimes used for other sports besides racing.

The Palatine Stadium was erected by the Emperor Domitian, as well as the Odeum, or concert hall, on its south-east side. Not only have we the direct statement of Suetonius (*Dom.*, v) for this, but many brick-stamps of Domitian and his freedmen have been found here, and have been built into the wall on the right, just before reaching the Odeum.

T . FLAVI . AVG . L . CLONI . T . FLAVI . HERMETIS .
CN . DOMITI . AMANDI . VAIEA . QVI . FEC.

Marcellinus mentions the Stadium and Odeum (xvi, 10, 14) as amongst the most beautiful buildings of the city, admired by Constantius during his visit to Rome in 357. The Stadium was most probably dedicated by Domitian when he celebrated the Secular games, in the year 841 of the city (A.D. 88), and instituted the Capitoline games. "Young girls ran races in the Stadium, at which he presided in his sandals, dressed in a purple robe made after the Grecian fashion, and wearing upon his head a golden crown bearing the effigies of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The priest of Jupiter and the College of Priests were seated by his side in similar dress, excepting

only that their crowns had also his own image on them." (Suetonius, *Dom.*, iv.)

It is a curious fact that this Stadiu[m] is not a stade long. It measures 525 Roman feet, or 100 ft. short of a stade. It is 509 English feet long by 158 ft. wide, and has been restored and altered several times since its erection by Domitian. Originally it appears to have had a colonnade down each side, of Cipollino marble, the capitals being of the composite order, beautifully worked. One only of these exists. It is of great value architecturally, as the volutes show the origin of the Ionic capital, the ram's horn. We know of no other capital which actually shows it, though the fact is well known.

It seems that extensive restorations were carried out here by Hadrian, as brick-stamps of his, bearing the name and third consulship of L. Julius Ursus Servianus (A.D. 134), have been found in the earlier and present excavations. The Emperor Commodus built his palace on the south-east side of the Stadium, from which it had a magnificent entrance with coffer-vaulting; and it was here probably that he gave the games in which he took the characters of Hercules and of an Amazon. This latter subject is represented in fresco on the wall of one of the rooms. Just before his murder a fire destroyed many of the edifices on the Palatine. (Dio Cassius, lxx, 11, 24.) Amongst the edifices thus destroyed we must reckon the Stadium, for the architectural evidence shows that it was entirely rebuilt by Septimius Severus, who also restored and added to the adjoining palace of Commodus.

Amongst the Doric capitals found in the recent excavations is one inscribed

TERTULLO . COS
SEVN D L V (? S. EVNT. D. L. V)

Unfortunately the pronomene of the Consul is not given. The letters of the second line are quarry or builders' marks. There were three Consuls of this name, Cornutus Tertullius in A.D. 98 (Pliny, *Paneg.*), Sulpicius Tertullus in A.D. 158 (inscription in the Capitoline Museum), and Scapula Tertullus in A.D. 195 (*Cod. Justin.*, ix, 1, 1). The first named was not Consul till after the death of Domitian, the second spelt his name with a *y*, not *u*; so the

above inscription cannot refer to either of these, but to the third, who was Consul under Septimius Severus. The fact also that the brick-engaged columns were coated with Portasanta marble points to the time of Severus, for it was a favourite decorative marble in his time. In addition to this evidence we have a gold coin of Septimius Severus, struck in his third consulship (A.D. 202), when his colleague was Caracalla, then serving his first consulship (*Spartianus Severus, xvi*), which was probably the date of the rededication of the Stadium, which is represented on the coin. (See Donaldson, p. 290.)



The Palatine Stadium, from a Coin of Septimius Severus.

The coin represents two views of the Stadium (both interiors), a view of the arcades, and a view of the arena, the arcades being below. At each end is a lofty arch representing the arcades at each extremity; between these are a series of two rows of arches, one above the other, representing the lower and upper arcades that surrounded the Stadium in two stories. Four arches in two rows are seen, then a lofty arch, then three arches in two rows. The lofty arch, not quite in the centre, represents the Odeum, which actually is not in the centre of the

side of the Stadium. The rows of four arches each show the part between the curved end and the Odeum, which is the longest, the rows of three arches each showing the other part. The upper part of the coin shows the arena of the Stadium, or the open part where the games took place. At the curved end the Emperor is seated in the imperial box. Remains of the imperial box can be seen at the curved end, with a coffer-vaulting. A series of scenes appear to be going on in front of the Emperor,—wrestling, dancing, and boxing. The two lofty arches at the end probably are intended to show the termination of the arcade on each side of the Stadium, or the arcade at the end. It should be noted that the arches spring direct from the capitals of the columns, and that the capitals are Doric.

We will now proceed to describe the Stadium as rebuilt by Septimius Severus, and as seen by the light of the recent excavations. The edifice runs south-west and north-east, and is enclosed within lofty brick walls which were partly coated with marble, and partly frescoed. The wall at the south-west end is slightly curved. This contained the imperial box. The wall at the north-east end is straight, and has against it six chambers with mosaic coffer-vaultings. The building is 169 yds. 2 ft. long by 52 yds. 2 ft. wide. All round the Stadium, 22 ft. out from the wall, are brick piers, thirty-eight on each side, nine at each end, counting the corner ones twice. The space between each pier is 7 ft. 7 in.; and the depth of the pier, including the marble coating, is the same; the width of the piers being 5 ft. These brick piers have engaged columns facing towards the arena, and were faced with slabs of Portasanta marble. They have Ionic bases veneered with white marble, and Doric white marble capitals. The floor between the piers was white marble, and there was a marble balustrading between the piers, to keep people out of the arena. Then there was a slope of white marble, 5 ft. 6 in. wide, down to a marble gutter to drain off the arena, and the eaves of the portico or arcade. These piers had arches of white marble from one to the other, and supported the coffer-roof of the portico, which sprang from square piers against the wall behind, thus forming an arcade-portico all round the

arena. Above this was another arcade-portico, forming a gallery for the spectators. Just sufficient remains to indicate it.

Out from the south wall 51 ft., or 23 ft. from the piers of the arcade, is a *meta*, shaped like the letter D, 19 ft. across, the straight line being 30 ft. long. It appears to have been a fountain, but we cannot trace how the water was supplied. There is a similar *meta* at the north-east end. There is no *spina*, or wall, between the *metae*, as in a circus; but it would seem that when they had races, two lines of posts were put up, and ropes drawn between the *metae*, thus forming a course. Three of the stone bases, with square socket-holes for inserting the posts, exist at the south-west end. There is a space of 36 ft. 6 in. between the gutter and the posts, which was the width of the course.

Upon the base of the third side-pier from the north-east end, on the left, are cut the letters Q V P. Some changes were made later on at the north-east end, the spaces between some of the piers being walled up. On the marble dado to our right of the third pier from the left, are cut C A I. These letters are also cut on the base of the existing fourth and fifth engaged columns, but the letters are more spread out. They are probably masons' marks.

The wall along the north-west side originally had openings in it, giving access to the Stadium from the Palace of Domitian, etc. These openings were blocked up by Severus; but one has now been re-opened between the fifth and sixth piers at the south-west end, to continue the excavations to the Palace of Augustus. The entries to the Palace of Commodus, and to the corridor at the back of the Odeum, on the south-east side, were also blocked up. At the end of this side is a flight of steps that led to the upper arcade. The arcade at the north-east end has its coffer-vaulting decorated with mosaics: most probably the whole arcade was so decorated.

In 302 Diocletian and Maximian paid a visit to Rome, and celebrated one of the last triumphs (*Eutro*, ix, 27). Diocletian during this visit turned the Stadium into a Hippodrome by building an oval wall in the south-west half, and raising the level of the arena. The other half

of the Stadium was turned into stables ; and it was probably at this time that the changes referred to above took place at this end.

In 500 King Theodoric resided on the Palatine, and during his six months' visit made many needful restorations, and took steps to protect the monuments. It was probably at this period that the two pedestals were brought from the Atrium Vestæ to be used as supports for the gates of the Hippodrome. One of these retains only a few letters ; but the other records the virtues of the high vestal virgin, Cælia Claudiana (A.D. 257), who ruled the order over thirty years. The following brick-stamp of Theodoric (A.D. 500) was found here—

OFFS.R.F.MARCI.HIPPODROME.THEODORIC.REGNANTE.DN.THEODERICO.
FELIX.ROMA.

This Hippodrome of Diocletian was the scene of the murder, as distinguished from the martyrdom, of St. Sebastian. In his acts we read that "he stood above the steps of Heliogabalus, and on the entering of the Emperors he cryed out. Then they ordered him to be led to the Hippodrome of Diocletian, on the Palatine, and there beat him for some time with clubs till his spirit fled. Then they took his body by night, and threw it into the Cloaca Maxima."

Chrysippus, the old Stoic philosopher of Cilicia, says, "he who runs a race ought to make exertions, and struggle as much as he can to be victor; but he ought by no means to trip up, or push with his hand, the person with whom he is contesting. Thus in life it is not unjust that each should seek for himself what may pertain to his advantage, but it is not just that he should take from another" (quoted by Cicero, *Off.*, iii, 10, 42). Another celebrated Cilician, and whose feet trod the Palatine Hill, uses similar language in writing from Ephesus to the Corinthians (I, ix, 24).

MERCHANTS' MARKS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.S.C.O.T.

(Read 15th Nov. 1893.)

MR. CECIL T. DAVIS, in his interesting paper on *MERCHANTS' MARKS*, calls attention to the fact that our *Journal* records few examples of this curious class of insignia; but if the examples be few in number they are not devoid of value, as they embrace a good variety of designs. In our second volume, p. 114, is a review of a *Display of Heraldry*, by our late Associate, William Newton, where are given fourteen cuts of merchants' marks, some English, some foreign, and ranging in date from the dawn of the fifteenth to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. And in the same volume, p. 348, is a notice of a petition from the Isle of Wight, dated 1539, on which the trade marks of the petitioners appear.

MERCHANTS' marks accompanied by the names of the owners are by no means common, but our *Journal* gives three examples. In vol. iv, p. 144, is described a brass seal, found at Ixworth in Suffolk, in which the cognizance is surrounded by the legend s. HENRIK TRIBES. In vol. xiv, p. 343, description is given of a brass seal of the fifteenth century, bearing a shield charged with a t, surmounted by a wheel or globe supporting a cross, from one side of which projects two arm-like streamers; and on the verge the words s. TOMEI PORT LOND. And in vol. xx, p. 197, another brass signet of the fifteenth century is noted, which was exhumed on the site of the Steelyard, Upper Thames Street, which bears the cross with streamers, and the inscription, s. HILDEBRADI DE YSPLIQROD.

A seal with merchant's mark was found in 1840, at Funtley Abbey, near Tichfield, Hants, and is thus described in our *Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 204: "The device is a cross with a small circle about its centre, the letter w on the upper part of the stem of the cross, above which the stem terminates in a crosslet, and the letter n on the lower part of the stem."

A merchant's seal of lead, to affix to a package, was found in 1866, between the wall-stones of Chester, and is described in our *Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 213. On one side is a shield charged with a cross *humettee*, the upper limb dividing two roses (?). On the *rev.* the letters W.L.6.K. This *bulla* has a double perforation from edge to edge, to admit the cord employed in securing it to the bale of goods. It is probably not older than the sixteenth century, though the form of shield might pass for the fifteenth century. The Thames at London has yielded up a large number of leaden seals of this description, my own cabinet containing over forty examples appertaining to Italy, France, the Netherlands, Russia, etc., but they display the insignia of countries rather than those of persons.

But to return to our vol. xiv, p. 343. Here will be seen a notice of an early fifteenth century seal, bearing a heater-shaped shield charged with a circle enclosing a St. Andrew's cross, and surmounted by a cross with two streamers flying from the side of the shaft, and dividing the letters R. X., the whole within an octangular beaded frame. In the same volume and page with the foregoing is described a silver seal of the middle of the seventeenth century, bearing a heart charged with the letters S. D., and surmounted by a cross, and the oft-repeated 4-shaped figure. This seal is of peculiar interest, as its history is well known. It was made for Solomon Drach, a Jew merchant, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, and is still, I believe, in the possession of his descendants, who have long resided in London. It is worthy of note that the 4-shaped device is still found in use in Germany, for I have an envelope of a letter from Frankfort, secured with a circular seal, bearing a cross surmounted by a 4, as in the Drach signet, but the base terminates in a triple knot, the group dividing the initials B. T. Though in use in 1867, this seal has a very seventeenth century look about it.

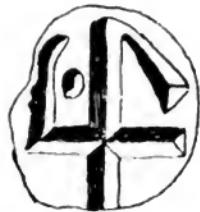
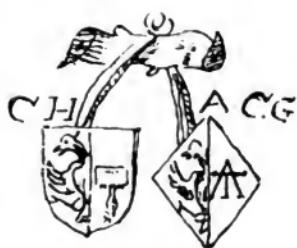
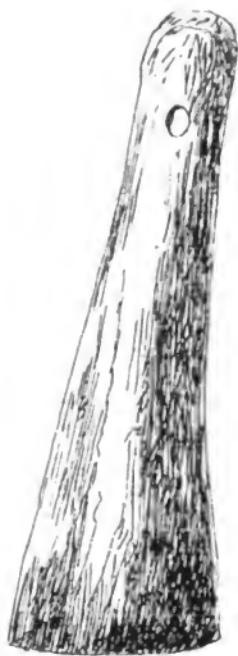
In the *Gent. Mag.*, Oct. 1784, p. 734, is given the oval signet of a seventeenth century thumb-ring of brass, found in Berkshire, which exhibits the 4 device, the long stem of which rises from a heart, and across the field are the initials H. P. C. And the same magazine for February

1790, p. 116, gives a round seal in which the 4 rises from a w, and has the letter s on its shaft. I will just mention that I have over a dozen leaden cloth seals, recovered from the mud of the Thames in 1845, which display the 4-shaped figure surmounting various initials, and which may be compared with the examples given by Mr. Davis in p. 54.

In the *Gent. Mag.*, March 1793, p. 225, is an engraving of a rondel of painted glass of the sixteenth century, in which a shield is seen hanging on a tree, and charged with a merchant's mark, the 4 being placed *upside down*; a singular variety of this mysterious symbol, which is rendered so familiar to us by its adoption as a mark by printers in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and by its forming a portion of the water-mark on the early foolscap paper, and of the badge of our East India Company; and which is also reminiscent of the first letter of one of the secret alphabets employed by the tribunals of free judges of Westphalia.

Both the seals and signet-rings of merchants were generally of brass, but the Drach relic shows that the wealthy class sometimes had signets of silver; and in the *Gent. Mag.*, March 1793, p. 227, is engraved the mark from a signet ring of the fifteenth century, which is of gold, and found in digging a grave in the church at Llantwit Major, South Wales. The perpendicular shaft stands on a double X, has a circle with cross half-way up, and a cruciferous bar declining from the top, like that seen in Mr. Davis's fig. 13.

Merchants' marks are at times found sculptured on buildings and pieces of furniture. On an arch in the kitchen of St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, is carved an angel holding a shield charged with a merchant's mark, much like Mr. Davis's third example, assigned to the year 1440, but with the addition of letters I. B. A representation of it is given in the *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1793, p. 1163. And in the same magazine for March 1788, p. 224, is an engraving of a carved chimney-piece, discovered in a mansion at Salisbury, in which is a shield charged with the 4-shaped device, standing on legs, which may be compared with those of Mr. Davis, fig. 15. Mr. Davis speaks of the oak mantelpiece in Sir John Spender's house in



MERCHANTS' MARKS.

Canonbury being carved with his mark ; and in our vol. xiv, p. 352, mention is made of the merchant's mark of Robert Veysy being carved on a cabinet belonging to Mr. J. Clarke of Easton. And in the *Gent. Mag.*, Feb. 1790, p. 116, is a copy of a piece of carved oak from Coventry, representing a shield charged with a cruciformed merchant's mark, with the letters of the owner's name curiously disposed — r. BALE (Thomas Bayly), who was Mayor of Coventry in 1486. In our *Journal*, vol. ix, p. 118, Pl. 16, are represented merchants' marks which were incised on the wall of the crypt of Gerard's Hall, three of them exhibiting the 4-shaped device.

Mr. Davis gives instances of the merchant's mark being impaled with the personal coat of arms, of which we have probably an example on the convex surface of the bowl of a silver Apostle spoon described in our *Journal*, xxiv, p. 395. Here we see two shields suspended by a strap across a billet, the dexter one charged, some suppose with baron and femme, a half-eagle, and wool comb, and above the escutcheon the initials C. H. The second shield is a lozenge, charged with the half-eagle, impaling the letters AT in combination, and above the lozenge are the initials A. C. G. The monogram AT must be a merchant's mark, and it is singular to find such a cognizance impaling family arms. Was AT a wool merchant, and the comb the emblem of his trade ? This spoon is of German fabric of the time of our Elizabeth, and bears an effigy of St. Andrew on the top of the handle.¹ The letters AT crossing each other occur as a charge in a shield in Southwold Church, Suffolk ; and the same initials in combination are seen in the Fairfold glass, both dating *circa* 1500.

I would now bring to notice an exceedingly rare and curious seal or stamp which was discovered in 1866, on the site of Gooch & Cousen's warehouse, London Wall. It consists of a truncated cone of wood, full $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height ; and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. below the apex it is bored through to admit a cord. The base of the cone is more ovate than round, being nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. ; and on it is deeply cut the device, which may be described as a cross with an

¹ Another example of the impalement of a merchant's mark with personal arms is given in the *Gent. Mag.*, Jan. 1801, p. 25, fig. 5.

arm or pennon declining from its top, in the manner seen in No. 18 which illustrates Mr. Davis's paper. From the end of the horizontal limb of the cross rises a somewhat crooked bar, which may be regarded as having the same signification as the device seen in figures 6 and 12 of Mr. Davis's plate, and between this bar and the perpendicular shaft of the cross is a roundish depression. There is a simplicity about the whole get-up of this object which warrants the belief that it cannot be later than the first half of the fifteenth century. But now comes the question, What was its purpose, and how was it employed? That this is a merchant's or trader's stamp there cannot be a doubt. The great depth of the cutting almost forbids the idea of its application on wax. Was it then employed with ink or some viscid fluid, or was it impressed on clay or dough, and used like the wooden butter-prints of the present day? Mr. Davis has shown that, as early as the thirteenth century, bakers were compelled to employ a signum "for each sort of bread". Can this be a baker's signum, the knob at the side of the cross indicating the quality of the bread? This is a query I must leave others more learned than myself to decide.

Now that Mr. Davis has brought the subject of merchants' marks prominently before us, and I have in a humble way attempted to follow in his wake, we may hope to hear more of a matter which is at once replete with interest to the archaeologist, the herald, and the genealogist. It is only by gathering and classifying a large number of these ancient trade badges that we can arrive at any certain knowledge respecting the origin of the designs they display. We may conjecture that the cruciferous staff with its streamers may be intended for the flag so often upheld by the Agnus Dei, but it is far more likely to be the mast of a ship with its flying pennon. And is the fancy too wild for entertainment that astrological and talismanic lore may shed a light upon the import of the 2-shaped figure and the cross-bearing circle, both of which are significant of the planet Jupiter, whose protecting power was so earnestly invoked in the Middle Ages? Are the resemblances mere chance and accident, or the intentions of cunning artists? Deep study will alone reveal the truth.

ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY
OF PART OF THE
SAXON ABBEY CHURCH OF PETERBOROUGH.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

(Read 6 Dec. 1893.)

THESE remains came to light through the following circumstances. The state of the lantern-tower had in 1882 become so very dangerous as to render it evident considerable rebuilding was both an immediate and imperative necessity. The Chapter, however, then hoped it would not require extension beyond removal and reconstruction of the crossings, eastern pillars,¹ and fractured lantern over. Such removal rendered it, however, evident that the state of the western ones could scarcely be with safety trusted to support the rebuilt work, and J. L. Pearson, Esq., R.A., the Chapter Architect, was therefore requested to survey and report to the Chapter on their actual condition, and the state of their foundations. For such purpose, on Sept. 25, 1883, Mr. Pearson had small excavations made round them, and under the centre of the west arch from crossing to nave; (for here all Norman foundations, however poor their construction or materials may be, are yet everywhere carried across the openings as "sleeper-walls".)

Mr. Pearson's survey commenced by an excavation at the north-east angle of the north-west pier. This opened part of the passage to that vault which Gunton, in his history of the Cathedral, mentions as existing on this north side.

The evidence given by the openings made at the angles

¹ Entries of the history of the south-east pillar of crossing:—1592, "In Repar' eccl'ie cath'is ib'm xvij*£* xiijs. jd." (Richard Howland Bishop, Thomas Neville Dean.)

1593, "In reparacionib' eccl'ie ib'm ac in colomp'na magna juxta chor' n'remio et ferro munienda xlviij*£* iiijs. ixd."

1702-3, "Mr. Evans, a bill of Expence about y^r surveying y^r pillar i'th Church 0*£* 16s. 11d." Probably at this time the triforium arches next the pier were built up.

of this pillar,¹ and below the west arch, corresponded with that before gained from the excavations on the sites of the eastern piers, in proving that such ground, prior to the Norman structure's erection, had been merely open churchyard. When an opening was, however, made near the north-west angle of the south-west pier in nave, pre-Norman walling appeared for the first time. Westwards it ran on into the nave, and east into the crossing, there deeply cut down into by the Norman sleeper-wall crossing it at right angles. Its line was but a short space north from the sleeper-wall under the south arcade of the nave, stone rubbish filling up the space between. The sleeper-wall formed through the hollow trough of the Saxon structure was here faced up with older ashlar procured from those buildings the fire of 1116 destroyed.

The opening at the south-west corner of the same pillar, when the modern paving was removed, and an additional 5 in. of rubbish, laid bare that old pavement whereon the stalls rested previous to the change of the site of the choir by Dean Lockyer in 1734, with the burial-slab of Sub-Prior Francis; and again, at some depth below, what first was taken to be a layer of stone-dust.

The sinking near to its south-east angle disclosed, close to the surface, a strong but shallow foundation across the south transept-arch; being, in fact, that of the stone screen seen existing behind the stalls in the plate of the choir in Bridge's County History; of this a small fragment remained at the base of the south-east pillar, up to its removal for rebuilding. The sleeper-wall here became the north boundary of the excavation. Still lower down, at right angles to which a second wall of Saxon date appeared, looking to be, as it actually was, the east return-wall of that first found in the nave.

¹ The vault and passage Gunton mentions were eventually cleared out, and found to be work much later than of Norman times. Leaden pipes entered the passage from the west, probably a water supply. These passed west through the north nave-aisle, and were afterwards found to enter the nave through a cutting made through the sleeper-wall below the second arch west from the crossing on the north side. The pipes, perhaps, went to St. Chad's Well in "Laurel Court" or Cloister Garth.

Eastwards, stone coffins and burials appeared. Along its west side (and a parcel of the wall itself) was opened a stone seat, its top surface and front covered with hard, grey, Saxon plastering. In front and below which the white layer seen westwards was again reached, and now found to be the plaster-flooring of that space these Saxon walls enclosed. This floor-level agreed in both excavations, and more careful search revealed it in the narrow space first opened, in parts thickly covered with burnt wood-ashes. The stone seat here was wanting.

The removal of this south-west crossing pillar manifested that such pier and the sleeper-walls were merely begun *on the surface of the Saxon plaster-flooring*, which, though sunk down and crushed by the enormous weight, yet so remained that its crushed surface could be washed to find whether painting or incising had existed, neither of which appeared. Among the loose materials on it lay a tile of Norman date, with incised ornament; others, of two patterns, were found (see later on); possibly additions by Abbot Ernulph, prior to 1114.

On this floor, among the fragments of rough limestone, one stone, on removal, was found to have on its lower surface the impress of a man's hand, as if it had been first laid spread out open on the thick wood-ashes on the floor, and then impressed on the flat side of the stone, as a rude memorial of the Saxon structure's fate. This stone was unfortunately left outside, and the rain washed the impress off. Under none of the four pillars was any sort of foundation-stone found.

The necessary removal of all materials above the limestone rock over that space required for the concrete blocks to support the rebuilt pillars, exposed the north-east angle of the Saxon structure, whose north wall, retaining much of its hard, grey plaster-coating, became on that side a boundary to the mass.¹

This removal of so much of the old Saxon flooring brought to light, from beneath it, that fine fragment of string ornamented with interlacing work (its top and

¹ The vault over the remains of the Saxon church enables the visitor to pass round and study on two sides the character of the square blocks of concrete under the south-west pillar of the crossing, a specimen of those on which the tower is resting at present.

bottom surfaces plain), which is now built up into the south-west pillar; and a holy water basin of stone, having one side straight, the other three-fourths round. Still more singular, it evidenced the fact that stones were among the materials of this Saxon walling which had belonged to a still earlier structure, for they yet retained patches of like hard, grey plaster received whilst the wall-stones of an earlier building.

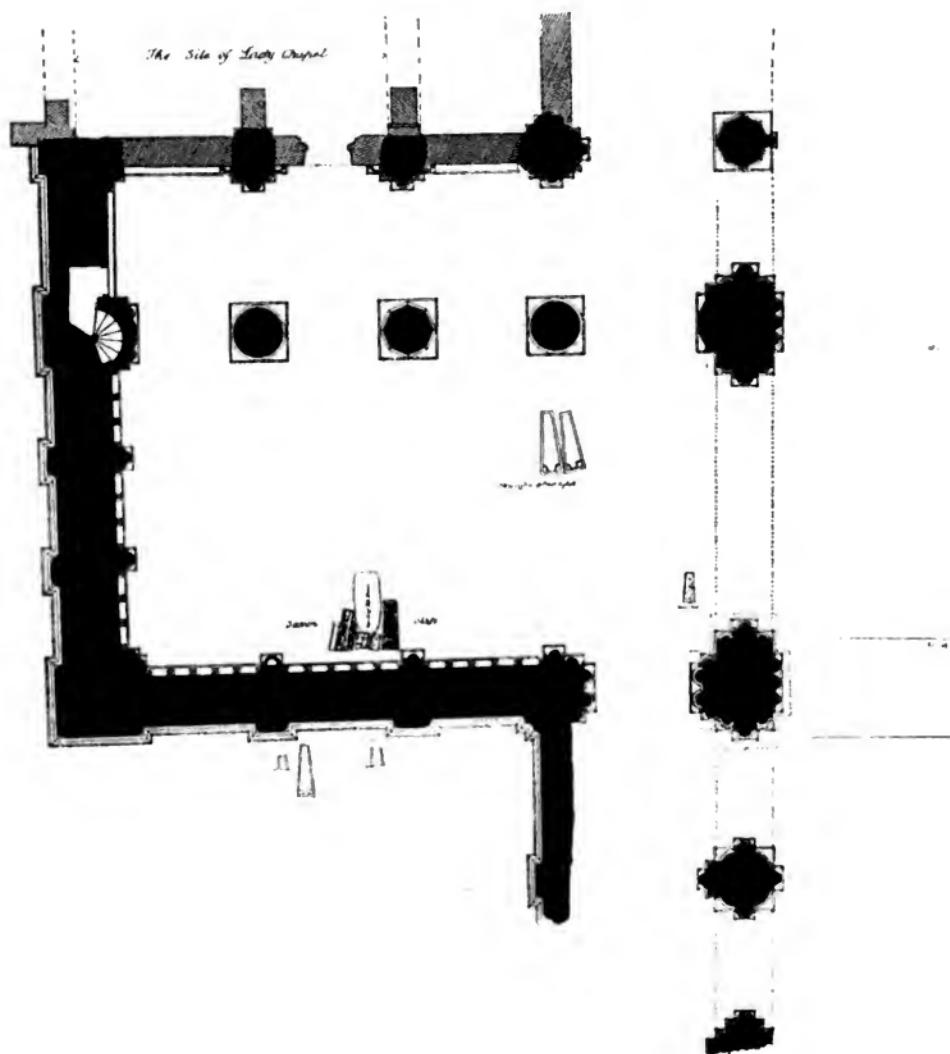
The stone seat along the west or inside face of this east wall seemed to suggest doubts of its being part of the church; though the burials to north, and stone coffins and burials eastward, proved such space to be formerly church yard. Of the "great stones" described as "requiring several yoke of oxen to draw them" no trace appeared below ground.

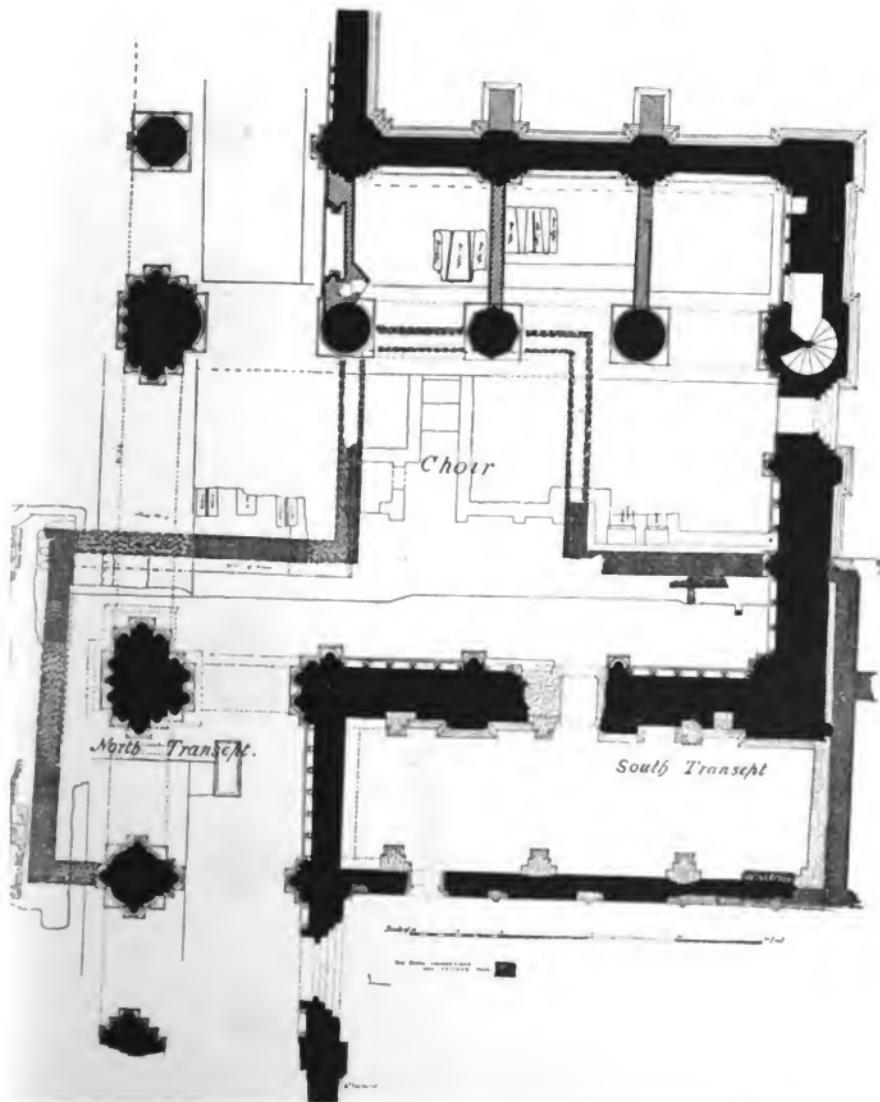
Other small excavations made at a later period, to enable Mr. J. L. Pearson to report further on the condition of the foundations of south transept, opened a continuation, as it seemed, of the above east wall passing outwards in the same line under the Norman gable wall, and (externally) discovered it to return westwards to the cloister. The interest of these Saxon remains induced the Reverend Dean Perowne (now Lord Bishop of Worcester) to decide that, as soon as conveniently it could be effected, the whole should be uncovered, to see whether they were parts of the early Abbey Church or no. When, therefore, the reconstructed central tower permitted of the removal from its arches of the great timbers used for shoring and centering, such search became practicable, and the order for it was given.

After careful consideration, it seemed probable, should the fragments laid open belong to the Saxon Abbey Church, that the extreme width obtained must represent *transept widths*, as it was so considerable. If so, its small chancel must therefore, of necessity, be found lying between *that fragment* to east of the south-west crossing pier, and a somewhat similar amount cut off, commencing from the wall discovered outside the south transept gable. An average of such probable quantities suggested where the walls of its choir might be found; that *northwards* just south of the present line of the nave wall of the south aisle; and the line of the *south wall* of its choir at the point

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

PLAN--Showing the Foundations of the Saxon Church and other recent discoveries.





J. T. Irvine, delt.

whereabout a nearly equal amount would reach extended from outside the present south gable wall. At those points, therefore, labourers were set to dig down to the level of the Saxon floor. The first, placed at the supposed point of north wall of choir, passed down through broken stones, lime core, etc., reaching merely the floor plaster. The second struck the expected south angle of choir wall exactly. Thus proving the position of the first to have been a little too far south. He, therefore, sank again further north and opened the wall, there standing one foot high, retaining on its surface the hard grey plaster coating. Roughly speaking, its line was with that of the south wall of nave, and not, as supposed, to south of it.

It was next sought to discover whether the wall found first (in nave) was that of a north aisle, or the gable of a transept; for if the last, it would terminate at a point tolerably capable of being approximated to; or if otherwise, continue westwards. About such point an opening was therefore made, and the ending found with distinct remains of its return as a west wall southwards; thus was the width of the transept determined. Some large stones appearing in its north edge that might be steps, the excavation was then extended eastwards, back over this wall, to discover whether any door existed; but there was none; the stones being those of the lower course of its square plinths left in from the churchyard earth covering them. According to usual Saxon custom, the floor inside was lower than the ground outside, hence inwardly the wall remained about three courses high, keeping considerable remains of its plastering.

The next endeavour, was discovery of whether the choir terminated in an apse, or was square-ended. Its side walls were followed eastward, to the west face of the sleeper wall, under the pillars of arcade, in front of the chapels of this transept; on approaching which a narrow strip of the flooring was found raised to a height of about two low steps above the ordinary level.

Excavations were made in both the chapels of St. Benedict and St. Oswald, where, had an apse existed, it would have been found. But in both cases the stone coffins and their lids (that might fairly be described as

paving the ancient ground level of the monks' cemetery¹⁾ presented with their ends near the sleeper wall's eastern face a tolerably straight line; proving that such sleeper wall by its greater width covered and hid the square-ended narrow east wall of the Saxon choir.

There remained, therefore, only to ascertain information relative to the Saxon gable and walls external to south transept, so far as the works of underpinning extended: this first along gable wall; then under the end of music-room, and for a distance in the cloister of 10 ft. 6 in. from the angle of that structure northwards.

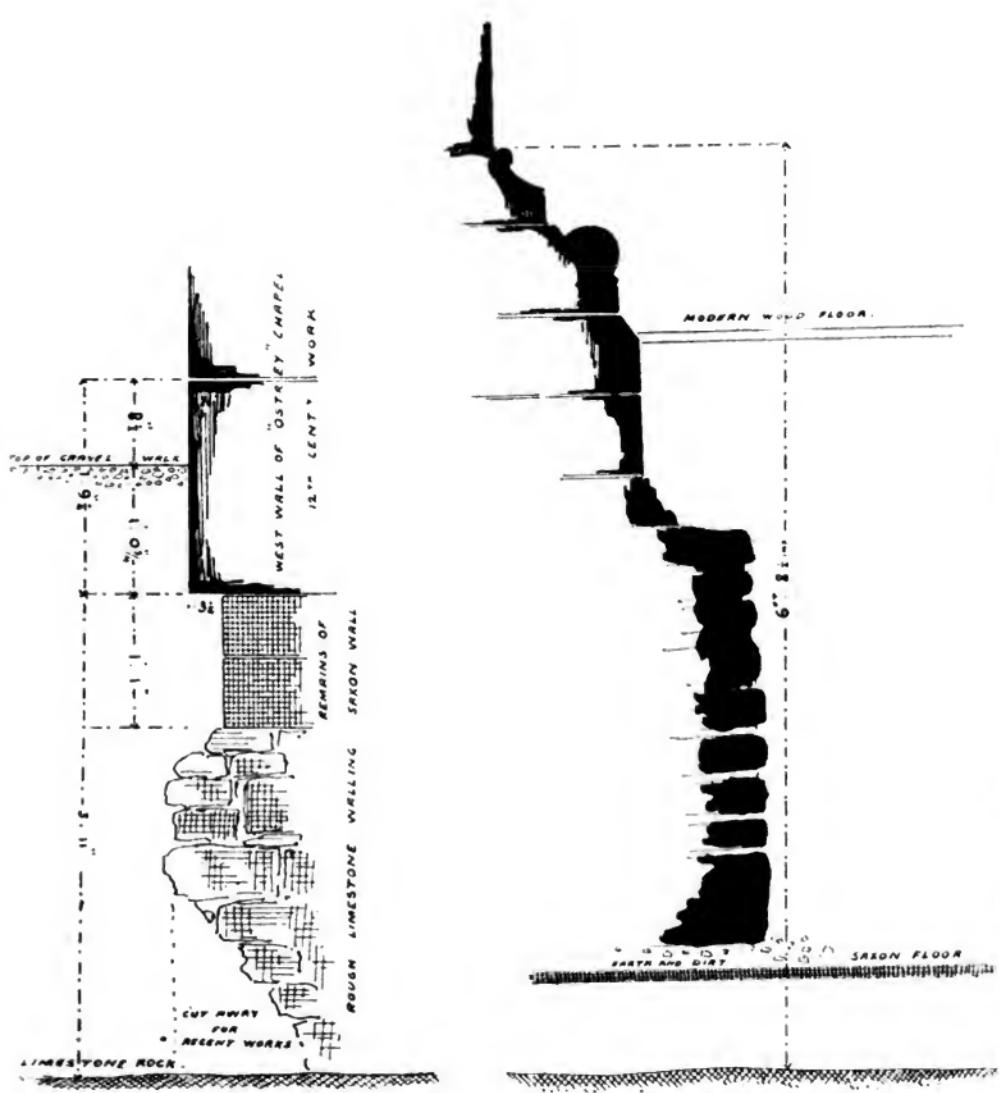
The Saxon east wall of south transept inside the modern one was uncovered, exposing near its centre a mass of masonry, intended to support the reredos of its altar. This had been an addition to the Saxon church, for the older plastering remained along the wall behind the added masonry. The Norman gable was here placed so close inside the Saxon one that the vertical face of its external ashlar becomes also the very vertical face of the internal plastering of the other.

The excavations made outside the Norman gable proved its foundation to be simply placed on the surface of the Saxon plaster floor (which indeed is the case wheresoever the older church extends).

The few courses of quoins of the south-east angle of the pre-Norman transept (left below ground) are all large stones, in some of which are "lewis holes". These were probably brought from Roman buildings at "The Castles"; that Roman town lying between Alwalton and Water Newton. This angle is under those two other fragments above ground of the east walls of the slype (of *Norman* and *Early-English* styles). A little further west of which, the east wall of that of the Saxon age was also exposed; the south wall of which, there is reason to believe, is underground, not far off.

The Saxon gable extended quite up to the present cloister, under the end wall of the music-room (or chapel of "the Ostrey"), with which it returns northwards. Such early transition Norman wall resting on,

¹⁾ At Peterborough. In no case was any stone coffin found in connection with Saxon interments; only monumental slabs. All those stone coffins seen appeared to belong to the Norman period.



REMAINS OF WEST WALL OF SAXON SOUTH TRANSEPT.

WEST WALL OF SOUTH TRANSEPT, SHOWING FOUNDATION AS SET ON SAXON FLOOR.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

SECTIONS THROUGH ANCIENT FOUNDATIONS.

and projecting over it, westwards, about $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Two or three of the Saxon ashlar courses below remain, and at the point where the excavation ended at 6 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. north from the south-west angle of the music-room, their top surface was but 1 ft. $0\frac{3}{4}$ in. below that of the gravel walk.

The ancient plaster surface of floor here (still thickly covered by burnt wood ashes) is 6 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. below the top line of the Norman plinth seen inside south end of this room, and from this last to surface of limestone rock, 7 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., the surface of stone has been wrought.

No mark of monument or interment was anywhere seen over so much of the Saxon flooring as was uncovered, but an interment made prior to its building was seen below the south-west angle of the Saxon transept.

The remains of wrought stones from the Saxon Abbey Church found were of no great number;¹ though some were architecturally interesting, from presenting that groping after mouldings, and, at times, slight trace of approach to Norman feeling, which frequently is found just prior to the Conquest.

No trace of any Roman structure existing on this site came to light.² Though during the removal of the lower foundation of the north-east pillar of crossing, a fragment, covered with leaf carving, was found. It belonged to the lower part of the attached pillar of a Roman temple, and during the removal of part of that sleeper wall under

¹ The Norman foundations, formed of small stones, have at the old ground-level an edging or outline of two, or at times even three, courses of old ashlar, derived from the monastic buildings destroyed in 1116; from which courses almost all the fragments of interest brought to light were obtained. The site of the new church moved north and east. Its parts seem to be always double those of the early church: parts of about 6 ft. governing its design.

² During the underpinning of the west wall of the north transept a remarkable ditch was laid open, its line just outside of the wall of the north aisle of the nave. In it alone the Norman foundation reached the rock into which the ditch was cut, the Norman foundation here resting on rows of herring-bone stones filling in its hollow. From this ditch was obtained the greater part of the fragments of wedge-shaped bricks (to over one hundred) recovered. It may probably mark the boundary of that Medeshamstede destroyed in 870. It was again seen when the apparatus-room, north of the nave, was excavated in 1893, and at least furnished then a fresh and more nearly perfect specimen.

the arch into south transept to form the vaulted passage round the Saxon remains, one of its facing stones was found to retain the fragment of an inscription probably derived from the same temple; a further fragment of which stone came out from below the gable of north transept. These, with two fragments of Roman brick and a bit of stone plinth found high up in the lantern's walls, were of that age the only items. Probably all came from the site of the Roman town called "The Castles", beyond Alwalton; property of the Monastery at an early period.

Of the Saxon remains were: one arm of a cross and other small fragment with interlacing ornament. Remains of arch, imposts, and two jambs not unlikely of the period of (that Abbot of many Abbeys) Leofric, who is said to have led South Peterborough's contingent to the red field of Senlac. A tympanum from over a square-headed door. Plinths of another. A fine specimen of a "long stone" from a vertical pilaster strip. Two fragments of an ordinary mid-wall slab, having round the outside of opening a half-round roll, one piece of which retained also the holes for the metal fastenings of its wooden shutter. Two fragments of rudely-pillared jamb stones or responds of an arch (difficult to have been understood had not jambs of similar plan remained to the choir arch of Wittering (its daughter church)). Two bases, one square, one round, which if not Saxon must be very late Roman. Several double shafts of no very great length, roughly shaped, and then coated with a very thin coat of the finest and hardest Saxon plaster to a smooth round surface, perhaps from the cloister, but neither caps nor bases were recovered. A piece of what the Saxon mason no doubt thought was a classic architrave round an arch. Part of the end of an ornamentally perforated mid-wall light slab, similar to those remaining in the upper lights of Barnack Tower, and the only other specimen yet known in England. Fragments of moulded strings. The north-east angle of a very early monumental slab, perhaps that of a Saxon Abbot. Its moulding was very much in accord with those of the above strings. Some of the fragments found retained traces of the fire of 1116.

The remarkably beautiful Saxon monuments found inside the north transept of the present church are here omitted, as being only in the churchyard of the Saxon church. There is in the west wall of vault over the Saxon remains, very near the south gable, and quite close to the masonry of altar found there, a small recess, on the floor, which marks the spot whereon one of the early tiles before mentioned was found lying in its original position on the Saxon floor. Its surface was terribly burnt from the fierceness of the fire which destroyed the church. It was hoped to have it here retained, but it was eventually removed to prevent the visitors from carrying it off.

Some fragments of tiles with ornament in relief were found below the south-east angle of south transept. Similar tiles did, some years ago, remain in the floor of the north transept at St. Alban's Abbey. Among the stone rubbish filling in the Saxon choir were found two large blocks of Barnack stone.

The sum of the discoveries is briefly thus :—

1st. The choir of the Saxon Abbey Church, about 23 ft. 3 in. wide inside its walls. Thickness of walls, 2 ft. 8 in. A distinct line of junction appeared to exist between its south wall and the east one of south transept.

2nd. Its two transepts were found. Length of north one from inside of choir wall to inside north gable, 31 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Width inside north transept, from west to east, 34 ft. 8 in.; from choir to south transept-gable, 31 ft. 8 in., and east wall of Saxon work, 2 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Width across transepts, 91 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Re-used stones from a former church were seen present in the walls of both transepts. No opportunity occurred to lay open any part of its nave, or nave-aisles, if they exist. The *Saxon Chronicle* states that its tower was " gehalgod" in 1059.

The whole of the Saxon walling, so far as it existed inside the present church, was excavated and vaulted over. So that it is now possible to follow it completely round from the north-west angle of its north transept—round its choir and south transept, and thence up to the gable wall of the south transept of the Norman church.

The floor of the vault is that of the old Saxon Abbey Church of 1066.

It is but just to say that the Chapter and Committee would not have been able to connect the portion in nave with that of what was found in the transept, had not the generosity of Mr. John Thompson, of Peterborough, made them the gift of that part below the crossing by which the connection is complete, and the interest to visitors so much increased :—remains wherein the famous Hereward, the Saxon leader, must have kept his vigil the night previous to his knighthood.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD JAN. 1894.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

MRS. BLANCHE FRANCES COLLIER, 6 Victoria Square, S.W., was duly elected a member.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents:—

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences," vol. v, Part II, Jan. 1885—Jan. 1889.

" " for "Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings, 1893."

" " for "Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," vol. xxxiv.

To the Editor, for "Revue Universitaire," No. 2 (second year), Feb. 1893.

Rear-Admiral Tremlett sent for exhibition a series of drawings of the remarkable tumulus known as Mont St. Michael, Carnac, Morbihan. It is wholly artificial, and it consists of two sepulchral chambers opening one from the other, the first being 2.4 metres on the north side, and 2 metres on the south, by 1.5 metre at junction with the small chamber, the width at the east, where the entrance is placed, being 1.80 metre. It is formed of rough stones and roofed with stone slabs of great thickness. The whole of the mound is formed of a mass of rough stones which covers the chamber. There is then a thick covering of clay which is impervious to wet. Above this is a layer of loose stones and earth, which forms the present surface. The enormous size of the mound can be judged from the fact that on a level platform which forms the summit there is a small ancient church, consisting of a nave, chancel, and western bell-cot. There is also a cross, and at the west end of the platform the remains of a semaphore station. The drawings showed the mode of construction of the chambers. One showed a primitive necklace, and another various implements of febrolite and jade, which were found in the chambers with traces of cremated bodies.

The Chairman exhibited a boldly painted blue delft tile, which had been used for wall decoration, removed from an old house recently demolished, in London.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, described a series of ancient Jewish lamps, which had recently been found at Jerusalem, or its environs, by the operatives of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. They are variously ornamented with raised lines, dots, and pellets; one having a series of palm leaves. They date, most probably, before the Christian era.

Mr. C. Brown, Deputy Mayor of Chester, sent a description of an ancient crypt on his property in Watergate Street, Chester. It is vaulted, of Norman date, and is now being cleared out and repaired; a new entrance being in course of construction. A more detailed description is promised when the works are completed.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. F. H. Williams, on the "Water Crypte in Crypte Court, Watergate Street, Chester," which will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on the "Lancaster Altar", by Dr. R. E. Hooppell, which was illustrated with several photographs. It is hoped it will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 17TH JANUARY.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following Honorary Corresponding Member was announced: J. P. Wilkinson, Esq., City Surveyor's Office, Manchester.

The following presents were acknowledged, and thanks returned to the donors:—

To the Smithsonian Institution, for "Bibliography of the Salishan Languages." By J. C. Pilling; and "Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," for 1887-8. By J. W. Powell, Director. 1892.

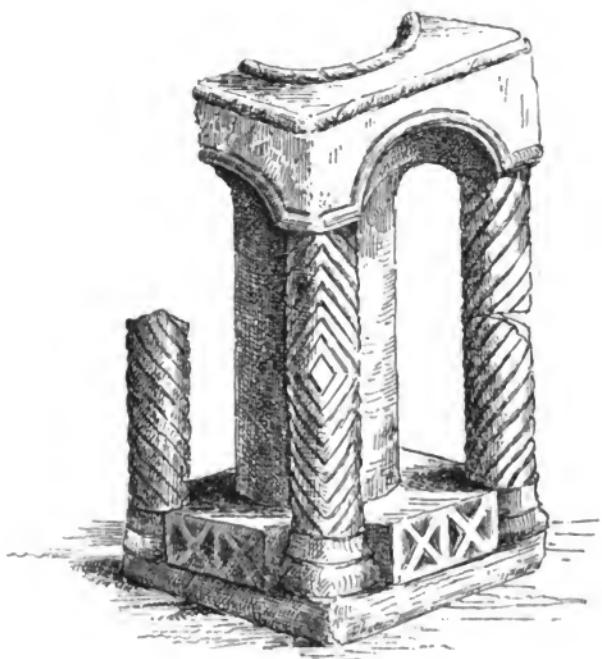
To the Author, for "Llantwit Major." By Dr. A. C. Fryer. 1893.

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis." Fifth Series, No. 41. Jan. 1894.

To the Author, for "Notes on the Surname of Francis, etc., in Scotland." By A. D. Weld French. 1893.

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cantiana," vol. xx. London. 1893.

Miss Swann favoured the meeting with the following communication:—



SMALL STONE OBJECT FOUND AT OXFORD.

NOTES ON A DISCOVERY OF A SMALL STONE OBJECT
AT OXFORD.

In digging the foundations for the New City Buildings in Oxford, the workmen have come upon an interesting little vessel. This object (*see illustration*) was found about 20 feet below the surface of the ground, under the old office of the Town Clerk, south of the vaulted cellar of Chap Hall. It is in shape and appearance like a miniature font, but it has no drain-hole; there are remains of some oily substance still discernible in the basin. The measurements are as follows:—Total height, 11 inches; square bowl, $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth of bowl, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It originally stood on five shafts, the centre one, two-and-a-half of the outer ones, and half the bowl remains. The centre shaft is cylindrical, and quite plain, and it and the half bowl are in one piece. One of the outer shafts is carved with a rectangular pattern, which forms a diamond in the centre of it. The second outer shaft and the portion of the third which still remains are alike ornamented with a spiral pattern. The four sides of the base are all similar, and have a succession of crosses carved on them. Round the basin, and also at the square edge of the vessel, is a raised moulding, which shows traces of the cable pattern. On the face of the bowl is a beaded moulded arch, and the moulding is continued over the pillars, but I cannot discover any traces of cable work in this.

The part of Oxford in which this vessel was found was originally the Jews' quarter, and known as Jewry. For the illustration I am indebted to Mr. Herbert Hurst, who first drew my attention to the discovery.

Mr. J. W. Bodger sent two cards of Roman objects which have been discovered at Peterborough, which he described as follows:

"No. 1. Mount containing a pair of bronze bangles, of twisted wire and hook fastening, taken from the arms of a female skeleton; and coin of Alexander Severus. *Obo.*, IMP. C. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXAND. ARG. Bust laureated and draped to the right. *Rev.*, P.M. TR. P. III. COS. P.P. Jupiter standing to the left, holding a mantle on the right arm, and holding a branch and a sceptre. These were found in Peterborough, August 1594, together with a vase, two vase necks, and broken pottery, with two skeletons, one male the other female, buried side by side, and with heads to west and feet to east.

"No. 2. Mount containing Roman bone needle, two pins, and two styles, also 1st brass of Antoninus Pius. *Obo.*, ANTONINVS AVG. PIUS PP. TR. P. COS. III. His head laureated to the right. *Rev.*, Italy seated to the left on a globe with stars, holding a cornucopia and a sceptre. ITALIA in exergue, and s.c. in the field. These were found December

1693, near Peterborough, together with a lovely red thumb-ware vase.

"No. 3. Tetradrachm of *Elagabalus*, struck at Antioch. On the *obv.*, head of the Emperor and his name, etc., ΑΥΤΩΝΟΙΝΕΙΝΟC. CEB. (*Αυτοκρατωρ Καισαρ Μαρκος Αυρηλιος Αντωνιος Σεβαστος*). On the *rev.*, eagle and legend, ΔΗΜΑΡPX. ΕΞ. ΤΗΑΤΟC. TO. B (*Δημαρχης Εξουσιας. επωτος. το. B.*; i.e., Pontifex Maximus Consul II).

"No. 4. Roman 2nd brass coin of Augustus or Claudius, re-stamped with a small standing figure, and again restamped with P.R., there being s.c. on obverse; both found in Peterborough, and regarding which I shall be glad to receive information, as name, etc."

Mr. Oliver described a series of beautiful lamps, of Roman date, mostly found in Syria. Amongst them was a handsome example in bronze, in perfect condition. He also exhibited a rubbing of the brass of Prior John Campedene, 1382, from the Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester.

Mr. J. T. Irvine sent for exhibition some sketches of a remarkable Norman door at Leathley Church, covered with ironwork of very curious patterns. It appears to have been the south door, but it now forms the entrance from the western tower into the nave of the church, although it has been in its present position for about three centuries. Mr. Irvine sent a sketch of an early Norman tombstone slab, which has recently been found at Peterborough Cathedral, in excavating for the new engine-room for the organ. It has a plain incised cross, roughly worked; its base standing on another cross of small form.

Mr. R. Earle Way laid before the meeting a large number of antiquities which have recently been excavated on the site of the open court of the old Marshalsea Prison, Southwark, known as the Tennis Court, now being covered with buildings. The progress of the works revealed the former existence of an ancient watercourse, many cases of piling being met with, in a mass of black mud. A boat-hook (produced) was found among the piles, together with several objects of Roman date.

The principal objects found consisted of pewter spoons of sixteenth century date, of varying form, and each having the maker's mark, of which a list, it is hoped, will appear in a future *Journal*. The coins include:—Constantinus I, 292 A.D.; Charles I; Tavern tokens: "The Ship," without Temple Bar, 1649, W.M.S.; "The Three Liverheads," Robt. Cornelius, St. Tulis St. (Tooley St.), 1665, r. D.C.

Mr. T. Cann Hughes, *Local Member of Council for Cheshire*, rendered the following report of antiquarian discoveries:—

"1. In Watergate Street, Chester, behind the shop of Mr. Coventry,

baker, immediately opposite to Holy Trinity Church, has been discovered traces of a building fronting the street, something of the same nature as that found in White Friars, in May 1884. It is presumed that the present discovery is confirmatory of the views expressed by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, at Liverpool, in 1887. The excavation has been inspected by Rev. Canon Morris, Archdeacon Barker, and other persons, and careful drawings and photographs have been taken on behalf of the Chester Society.

"2. In the repairs of the north wall of the city, consequent on the fall of Pemberton's Parlour (as before reported by me), an interesting discovery has been made. It is a tombstone commemorating Q. Domitius Optatus of the Claudianni tribe, born at Virunum in Styria. The inscription is imperfect. It was found 30 yards west of Pemberton's Parlour. The discovery is due to the watchfulness of our Honorary Correspondent, Mr. J. Matthews Jones.

"3. There have recently been found at various points in the city of Manchester, the old wooden water-pipes through which the city was in its earlier days supplied. These are preserved in the Police Department, at the Town Hall."

A paper on the "Parishes of Leeds and Bromfield" was then read by the Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., which it is hoped will appear in a future *Journal*.

The second paper, on "Reminiscences of Visits to Segontium", by Mr. Harry Sheraton, Local Member of Council for Cheshire, was then read by Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., in the author's absence. It was illustrated by photographs of the objects referred to, including the Roman wall of the camp, and the recently uncovered ancient timber roof of the church.

FEBRUARY 7TH, 1894.

ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

It was announced that Mr. Cecil Davis had been elected Auditor for the current year, in place of Mr. Macmichael, whose absence from town prevented him from attending to the duties of the office.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, reported that an invitation had been received from the Lord Mayor of Manchester, to hold the congress this year in that city, and that it had been unanimously accepted by the Council.

The Rev. G. B. Lewis sent for exhibition some photographs of the curious font in the church at Toller Porcorum, Dorset. It consists of two portions, the lower one, of Portland stone, being circular on a base, and ornamented with early volutes, one of which ends in a

ram's head. The upper portion is octagonal, of red sandstone, of fifteenth century date, with small panels filled with foliage.

Mr. Cecil Davis exhibited some prehistoric implements of hard stone, which had recently been found near Auckland, New Zealand. They are formed with much precision, and have none of the uneven appearance of many European examples.

The following note was then read :—

A BELFRY-FOUNDRY.

•
BY DR. FRYER.

The general method of casting bells has varied little from century to century. A *core* of brickwork covered with soft clay is moulded to the intended form of the inner surface of the bell, by means of a curved compass called a *crook*, and in a similar way the form of the outer surface is moulded, on the inside of the outer mould or *cope*. The *cope* is fitted over the *core*, with a hole left at the top for the escape of the air, and the metal in a state of fusion is admitted to fill the space intervening between the *cope* and the *core*.

It was in Norman times that the art of casting bells in sequence of sound appears to have been practised. In the reign of Henry III, Walter of Odington, a monk of Evesham, gave careful directions for the production of a tunable ring. Sandre of Gloucester was a noted founder, and before the close of the fourteenth century to the time of the Reformation, excellent bells were produced at York, Norwich, Bury St. Edmund's, Leicester, and other places.

It is interesting to note that bells were fabricated at the base of church towers as late as the year 1718. The bells in Llantrisant Church, Glamorganshire, are marked E. E. 1718 and the figure of a bell; and it appears that seven bells were cast in this town at that date. The furnace was built against the south wall of the tower, while the moulds were arranged against the north wall. Mr. John Storrie writes to the *Western Mail*, saying :—"The largest bell was cast last, the core being left *in situ*; it was built in the orthodox manner on the rock on which the church is built, fully strengthened with an iron skeleton, and with the ordinary gas-vent from the inside. Only small fragments of the mould of this bell were found, but these showed that it had been cast, for the loam, sand, charcoal dressing, stopping clay, and other necessaries in bell casting were all lying about. The pit after use had been simply filled in and paved over, and the matter lost sight of, and all remembrance of the casting had died out in the town." The Vicar has pointed out that the registers only date from 1720, as if to show that, after a period of apathy, a new departure in Church matters had taken place about the time when the bells were cast.

This was followed by an extended discussion with respect to the practice of bell founding close to the church for which the bells were required. Mr. Loftus Brock instanced some places in Kent where the bells are known to have been founded either in or close to the church-yard, or on the village green. Mr. Earle Way instanced the tradition which exists in a village near Tiverton, where it is believed that the church bells were cast in the field still known as the Church Bell Field, and a depression in the ground is supposed, with much appearance of truth, to mark the spot.

A paper was then read on

ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES.

BY W. OLIVER, ESQ.

The crucifixes show various points of difference in the position of the head, the hands, and the feet. To take the head first, the earlier examples show the head lying on the shoulder, then three with the head slightly elevated, and three with the head sunk on the chest of the figure.

The earliest examples show the crown of thorns placed round the head; this is wanting in those of a later period. The reason for this being that they were generally separate from the other part. An extremely fine crucifix at St. Patrick's Church, Soho Square, shows the crown made of very fine twisted wire, possibly silver, but now much tarnished. The hands of the examples show differences in the position; some have both hands open at full length, in others they are closed, the knuckles upwards. One shows both the two first fingers extended, and another only the two first fingers of the right hand is in this position. The feet are either separate or placed the one upon the other. One example shows the hands twisted over the head; one precisely similar is in the Mayer Collection in the Museum at Liverpool.

Aureoles are to be found in an early fourteenth century example. This is probably Eastern; the figure is very much contracted, instead of the limbs hanging straight down.

Of crucifixes in Milan, I have a few examples. The principal being on a splendid pectoral cross of Italian workmanship; at the back is placed a small figure of the Blessed Virgin and Child. The character of the work is Italian; the upper part takes off by unscrewing the ends from a small box, possibly for a relic. Another similar box in silver has on each of the arms of the Cross, the pincers and the reed; the scourge. The head is surrounded by a crown of thorns, and the sacred monogram is over this. On the reverse side is a small figure of the Virgin, over the head is a cross, and the letters I.H.S. Beneath the feet are three spear-points piercing a heart.

Another example is similar, but the figures are larger; the head-dress of the Virgin is similar to the head-dress seen in effigies of the fifteenth century. An example which appears to me to be Spanish has the figure of Our Lord crowned on a crescent, and beneath are a scale and cross lines. On the reverse side is the Blessed Virgin, crowned, the head surrounded by rays.

There are two small crosses in enamel; one with a background powdered with small crosses, a larger one being placed over the head and under the feet; at the arms are placed small blue flowers; at the top the sacred monogram. Rays proceed from the arms, and the whole is surrounded by a corded pattern.

The second enamel is green, and represents the First Person of the Blessed Trinity; beneath is a small white mark, evidently intended for the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. Small figures of angels being on either side, as also at the arms of the cross.

Over the head of Our Lord are the letters IC XC. The cross stands on a screen. Another enamelled cross shows the Tree of Life, the arms of the cross showing small leaves; in place of the usual letters are L X (*Lignum Christi*).

The aureole is in white enamel, as is also the cloth placed round the centre of the figure. Another shows the cross with the Blessed Virgin and St. John on either side. The aureoles of these two figures in white enamel; the crosses in the shape of a tree with branches.

A unique enamel is in red coral, the stem on which the figure is placed comes from a piece of white coral.

Of figures of the B. V. M. there are four in ivory and one in wood. The frames are Spanish, I think, and show the figure of the Virgin on the half moon. One shows the Serpent holding the apple in its mouth, and small figures of angels, and underneath is a figure lying, decorated in gold and colours, this is Portuguese work; and a small figure with beautifully designed drapery is, I think, Spanish. Of a different type is the small wooden figure of the Virgin and Child. This is clearly Dutch, and is very heavy when compared with the others.

The paper was illustrated by a large collection of crucifixes of varying date; an interesting pax, and various other articles named in the paper, were exhibited.

The proceedings were brought to a close by the reading of a paper prepared by Mr. T. Cann Hughes, on "An Archaeological Ramble in East Anglia", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

Thanks were returned to the exhibitors, and to the readers of the various papers.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21ST, 1894.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREAS., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents:—

To the Society, for "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles." Tome VIII. 1 Jan. 1894.

" " " *"Bulletin Historique."* Tome IX, livr. 165-7; and
" *"Les Chartes de St. Berlin."* Tome III. Par M. le Chanoine Haigneré. (Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie.)

Mr. A. Oliver sent an outline drawing of the "Riding of the Stang", from the Walsoken Brass, *à propos* of the promised paper by Mr. Barrett.

Mr. Brock read a note from Mr. Frank Williams of Chester:—

" During the past week, workmen have been engaged in removing, to about half its depth, the bank of earth beneath that part of the city walls immediately behind the 'Grand Stand' at the Racecourse. The excavation has exposed masonry of the same massive character as that (with which you are familiar) existing still further to the south; and so of no little value with regard to the vexed question of the existence of a wall along this side of the city in Roman times.

" I understand that Mr. Jones, the City Surveyor, has informed you of the finding of a small Roman archway, in lowering the ground beneath the 'Watergate Flags' and the city walls; and evidently a vestige of the villa discovered in erecting the houses at the end of the last century. The opening looks like a *præfurnium*, but I cannot say for sure that it is so.

" With regard to the wall disclosed at the Rood-eye, I hope that when more cleared of earth a photograph will be taken of it; for as the excavation is being made in view of a building there to be erected, the wall will be so hidden.

" Finding an excavation in progress for the purpose of forming a cellar, behind the premises of Messrs. Quellyn, Roberts and Co., on the south side of Watergate Street, I thought it well to watch the progress in view of antiquarian finds. At first it did not appear particularly promising, much of the earth removed being that of made ground; omitting the occurrence of a few pieces of mediæval pottery. The first of the more important finds were a piece flaked away from a sandstone pillar, and the base of a small half-shaft, or pilaster (the accompanying rough indications from memory); but what made me imagine that better remains might be found, was the finding of three half-pillars of the usual Chester type,

and evidently from some hypocaust! The work of excavation up to to-day has been to generally lower the ground to about half the intended depth, and the cutting of trenches for the walls on the north and east sides. At the end of the last named, and the position of the S.E. angle of the proposed cellar, I noticed a lighter stratum of what appeared to be merely filling-in rubbish. On a second visit to-day I have narrowly inspected it, and find it to be the line of a Roman concrete floor, intercepted by a cross wall of the same period—both of which the cutting exhibits in section. I at once acquainted the architect, Mr. Lockwood, jun., and another friend and antiquary, Mr. John Hewitt (who is in the office of Mr. Lockwood), and they accompanied me to view the remains.

"I have asked Mr. Hewitt, in the interests of the Association, to make a plan of the spot and watch for further developments. This he has promised to do and, if possible, send in some account for a future meeting."

Mr. Matthews Jones, City Surveyor of Chester, communicated a note showing that in January, "in cutting through the outer wall of the modern (1779) house, for cellar-ventilation, I came into contact with stonework. On clearing away the soil and filling-in stuff, I exposed an arched opening going through a $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick wall, or mass of masonry. This was covered on the inner side with, or acted as support for, three layers of tiles with the usual pounded tile-concrete on top. Four ft. in depth, below the tiles, a floor of 8 in. similar concrete can be traced for a distance of 12 ft., and say 6 ft. wide. At a short distance from this perfect arched opening is another arch, internally about the same span, but remains of the springing only."

"I have left the whole intact, and made it easy of inspection by an architect, but not for ladies or geologist antiquaries. Strange how Mr. Thompson Watkin missed his aim. His dotted lines, showing his supposed west wall, come directly on the arched opening, as it does with the Roman remains at Black Friars, found in 1886. If he was right we must assume that the builders of that day either put up the two villas to be removed for the wall, or built the villas in a breach of the wall, or built the villas as part of the wall, or outside the wall, which is absurd."

Mr. J. W. Bodger, of Peterborough, sent a further exhibition of recent Northamptonshire finds :—

"1, female face; 2, female head; found by Artis in excavating Roman buildings at Castor, near Peterborough, in 1821-23. One mount containing twelve coins found at Castor in 1892, viz.,—

"1.—Hadrian. *Ov.*, bust of Hadrian to right; *rev.*, female bust to left.

"2.—Antoninus Pius. *Ov.*, his bust to right; *rev.*, an elephant, with cos. III. in exergue.

"3.—**Marcus Aurelius**, coined A.D. 161. *Obr.*, his bust, crowned, to the right, IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. ANTONIVS. AVG. P. M.; *rev.*, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus standing and shaking hands, one of whom is holding a roll of a book, CONCORD. AVGVSTOR. TR. P. XV. COS. III. S. G.

"4.—**Lucilla (Annia)**, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, and wife of Lucius Verus. *Obr.*, her bust to the right, LVCILLE. AVG. ANTONIN. AVG. F.; *rev.*, Concord seated, to the left, holding a patera and a double cornucopia, CONCORDIA. S. G.

"5.—**Alexander Severus**. *Obr.*, his bust draped, to the right, IMP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG.; *rev.*, Abundance standing, to the left, holding some ears of corn and a cornucopia, at her feet a vessel filled with corn; ANNONA. AVGVSTI. S. G.

"6.—**Gallien**. *Obr.*, his bust laureted and cuirassed, to the right, IMP. C. P. LIG. GALLIENS. AVG.; *rev.*, Liberality standing to the left, holding a plate and cornucopia; LIBERALITAS. AVG. S. G.

"7.—**Gallien**. *Obr.*, his head crowned, to the right, GALLIENS. AVG.; *rev.*, Liberty standing, to the left, holding a bonnet and a sceptre; in the field, XI. LIBERTAS. AVG.

"8.—**Tacitus**. *Obr.*, his bust laureted and draped, to the right; legend indistinct; *rev.*, an eagle looking to the right, ETOVC. A. Coined at Alexandria.

"9.—**Probus**. *Obr.*, his bust radiated and cuirassed, to the right IMP. PROBVS. P. F. AVG.; *rev.*, Peace standing, to the left, holding an olive-branch and a sceptre, PAX. AVGVSTI.

"10.—**Probus**. *Obr.*, his bust cuirassed, with the casque, and crowned, to the left, holding a spear and shield, IMP. PROBVS. AVG.: *rev.*, Health standing, to the right, feeding a serpent which he is holding in his arms, SALVS. AVG.

"11.—**Probus**. *Obr.*, his bust radiated, to the left, with the imperial mantle, and holding a sceptre surmounted with an eagle, IMP. C. M. AVR. PROBVS. P. F. AVG.; *rev.*, the Sun crowned, half naked, in a carriage and four, galloping, to the left, and holding a globe and whip, SOLI. INVICTO.

"12.—**Probus**. *Obr.*, his bust, draped and laureted, to the right; legend imperfectly visible; *rev.*, an eagle looking to the right, A. Coined at Alexandria."

Miss Collier exhibited some old illustrated books, among them being good copies of *Milton's Works*, 1711, and *History of the New Testament*, by S. Wesley, 1717.

The Chairman then exhibited the chalice of the Church of St. Stythian's, in Cornwall, which he was permitted to show by his brother,

the Rev. W. J. Wyon, M.A., who has charge of that parish, which is situate in the south-west corner of Cornwall. The cup, from foot to lip, is $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, or to top of cover about $10\frac{1}{2}$ in., and about 4½ in. diameter in its widest part. It is engraved round the foot, the base of the cup itself, and below the lip. The cover also is engraved. The whole of the engraving is of a uniform type, of floriated design,



Seal of Charles II. Obr.

carried out in a somewhat archaic manner. There are no Hall-marks by which its date can be proved ; but upon the top of the cover are the figures 1576 in the style of engraving which prevailed in Queen Elizabeth's time. There is no reason to doubt that the cup came into the use of the church in the year shown by the date. The knob on the stem suggests that the cup was made for ecclesiastical use.

The following was then read :

NOTES ON SOME NEW SEALS OF THE KING'S GREAT SESSIONS
OF WALES.

BY ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

During the meetings of our Congress at Cardiff I had the honour of submitting a paper upon the Judicial Seals of Wales, which was pub-



Seal of Charles II. *Rev.*

lished in our *Journal* of last year (pp. 1-14). In my paper I stated that there were many gaps in the series of seals which I then brought under the notice of the Association, and I ventured to ask that these might be filled should any further impressions of this series of seals be met with. Our Hon. Secretary, Mr. Birch, has been kind enough to fill two of these gaps.

Whilst down in South Wales in the month of August last year, examining some old charters, he came upon an impression of a seal of Charles II, and another of a seal of George I, both of the Glamorgan group of counties. Mr. Birch was unable to bring away these

seals; but he did the next best thing, he made rough rubbings of them, which I now beg to submit to this meeting.

Charles II's seal shows on its obverse the King on horseback, with sword erect, similar to the seal for the Denbigh group of counties, figured on Plate IV of our *Journal* of last year. The greyhound and the hind gorged, as supporters; the crown ensigned with orb and cross; the curved sides of the shield; the Prince of Wales' feathers; and the space between the bottom of the crown and the top of the shield proper; are all distinctly discernible upon this rough rubbing, from



Seal of George I. *Obr.*

which I have constructed the design of the seal as shown on the accompanying illustration, and I have no hesitation in stating my belief that this illustration gives a fairly accurate representation of what the seal itself must have been. Mr. Birch further states that the seal was 4 in. diameter, and that the document to which the impression is attached is dated at Cardiff, 29 April, "anno regni 19", i.e., 1667.

The rubbing from the other seal shows the King on horseback. The position of the head and neck, and the flow of the tail of the horse, mark it out a reduction of the Great Seal of England of George I. On

the reverse, the greyhound and the hind supporters leave no doubt about this seal belonging to the Glamorgan group of counties. I here also submit my idea of the design and appearance of the seal, which Mr. Birch says was attached to a document in George I's name, bearing date the thirteenth year of his reign, *i.e.*, 1727.

Whilst I feel that our thanks are due to Mr. Birch for his bringing these seals under our notice, I cannot refrain from expressing a hope that other seals of this series may yet be brought before us, so that by and bye the whole series may be completed.



Seal of George I. Rev.

Mr. Brock read a paper on "Lambourne Church, Berks," by Dr. A. C. Fryer, which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Barrett read a paper on "Riding the Stang" and "Riding Skimington," which also, it is hoped, will find a place in the *Journal*.

Rev. H. T. Owen rendered a description of extensive excavations that have been effected under his direction at Valle Crucis Abbey, Llanguollen. The whole of the cloister-court has been cleared of the accumulated earth, and the buried foundations revealed. They prove to be

in more perfect condition than could have been hoped for, and the entire ground-plan has been recovered.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited some third-brass coins found with several others at Springhead, near Gravesend, on a site which has produced many other traces of Roman occupation. They consisted of coins of Constantine, Constans, and Valens, and were remarkable by reason of the Christian emblem, the Chi-Rho, being on the standards held by Roman soldiers on the reverse. He exhibited also a coin of Constans, found elsewhere, on the reverse of which a soldier, or the Emperor, is represented holding a standard in each hand, the Chi-Rho being inscribed on each standard.

WEDNESDAY, 7TH MARCH 1894.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

G. H. Turner, Esq., 35 Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W., was duly elected a Member.

Mrs. Skey, Roman Road, Belford Park, W., was elected an Honorary Correspondent.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a large collection of flint implements, etc., from recent excavations, accompanied by the following note:—

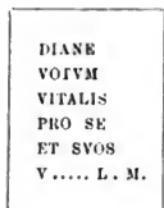
"Prehistoric Antiquities discovered in Southwark during Feb. and March 1894. Palaeolithic Period.—Within the last two months I have collected from the drift-gravels, about 16 ft. below the surface, and in a space of about 20 yards, a number of flint implements—knives, axes, scrapers, borers, celts, and sickles—and a quantity of perforated stones, many flakes made into saws, and a number of unfinished implements; bone pins and needles, and a fine bronze fibula and ring, and many fragments of urns and other vessels in black pottery; a hammer made from the antler of a deer, horns and teeth of the *Bos primigenius*, tusk of wild boar, and teeth of the wolf. Some of these stones were known as thunderbolts by our forefathers.

"In the seventeenth century a flint implement was found, with a mammoth tooth, in Gray's Inn Lane. It was regarded as made by man; but its presence was explained by the theory that it was a spear-head of an early Briton who had killed a Roman elephant. This weapon is now in the British Museum.

"The discovery of so many implements in one place, as well as piles, and not more than 500 yards from the River Thames, appears to indicate that it was the site of pile-dwellings."

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a squeeze of a

Roman altar at Schloss Fürstenau, on the Mümmeling, in Hesse Darmstadt, inscribed



The Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., exhibited a silver medal or badge of Charles I. On the rev., the royal arms in a garter.

The Chairman exhibited several casts and photographs of various Great Seals of England, bringing into notice a new Great Seal of Charles II, and communicating information hitherto unpublished respecting other Great Seals. The paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Birch moved, and Mr. Cave-Browne seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his paper.

British Archaeological Association.

FIFTIETH ANNUAL CONGRESS, WINCHESTER, 1893.

MONDAY, JULY 31ST, TO SATURDAY, AUGUST 5TH.

PATRON.

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

PRESIDENT.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

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THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON	W. W. B. BEACH, ESQ., M.P.
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Proceedings of the Fiftieth Congress.

THE proceedings of the Congress commenced at the Cathedral, where the members met on the morning of Sunday, the 30th July. The Mayor and Corporation in their state robes, accompanied by the civic officials bearing the ancient maces of the city, also attended Divine Service. The Very Rev. the Dean preached from St. Matthew, xiii, 52, "Therefore every scribe which is instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old."

Many of the members also attended the afternoon service at the Cathedral, when the pulpit was occupied by the Rev. Canon Humbert, Vicar of St. Bartholomew, Hyde, who delivered an appropriate sermon, selecting as his text, Ezekiel, xxxvii, verse 3, "Can these bones live?"

MONDAY, 31ST JULY 1893.

On Monday the formal reception of the Association by the Mayor and Corporation took place in the Sessions Hall. The following members of the Association, among others, were present: Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*; Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*; Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Cates; the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.; Dr. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A.; Mr. C. H. and Miss Compton, Dr. and Miss Winstone, Mr. and Mrs. Horsfall, Mr. J. Park-Harrison, M.A.; Mr. Algernon Brent, F.R.G.S.; Mr. W. J. Nichols, Mr. W. Essington Hughes, Professor Fergusson, LL.D.; Mr. Sydney Baird, Mr. Tyson, Mrs. W. Gibson Rendle, Mr. and Mrs. B. Nathan, Mr. E. Arnold, Mrs. Edwards, Colonel George Lambert, F.S.A.; Miss Francisca Lambert, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lambert, Mr. R. C. Bush, Mr. T. S. Bush, Mr. and Mrs. George Fuller, Miss Fuller, Miss Swann, Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Fry, Mr. W. Bull, Mr. W. W. Wooder, the Misses Wooder, Miss Price, Mrs. Wheeler, Mrs. Eyton, the Misses Prosser, Mr. P. D. Prankerd, Mr. John Bush, Mrs. Prankerd, Jur.; Mr. and Mrs. A. Hessel Tiltman, Mr. R. Dappa Lloyd, Mr. John Broad, Mr. and Miss Chaffey-Chaffey, Mr. C. Lynam, the Rev. E. D. Whitmarsh, D.C.L.; and Mr. S. Rayson, *Sub-Treasurer*.

His Worship said as Mayor of that old city he had the greatest pleasure in welcoming the Association, and he hoped the bright morning they were experiencing might be an indication of a very pleasant and instructive week. They were deeply indebted to the Association for coming amongst them, not only because of the social intercourse which would take place between them, but because of the information they felt the Association would bring into the city, and the assistance they would render to those who were thirsting for knowledge. They were very glad to place the rooms of the Guildhall at their disposal, and to assist them in any way they could; and he trusted, when the week ended, and they returned to their respective homes, they would carry with them a pleasant recollection of Winchester and its inhabitants.

Mr. Allan Wyon, *Hon. Treasurer*, said:—

“ Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen of the Corporation of Winchester, behalf of the British Archaeological Association I beg to express our sincere thanks for the kind words you have just spoken, and for the welcome you have accorded to us on this occasion. There are some acts which gain in value at an increasing ratio whenever they are repeated. When we call on some public man, and find that he receives us with courtesy, we feel a certain amount of gratification. When a second time we go to the same man, and again are warmly received by him, that feeling of gratification ripens into warm regard. This is the sort of feeling with which we come to this ancient city of Winchester. On August 4th, 1845, your predecessor, Mr. Mayor, welcomed us in this place; not in this room, as these magnificent municipal buildings had not then been erected; but in this city he welcomed our predecessors in the membership of the British Archaeological Association. We come where our Association has been before, and we feel still happier than our predecessors in making a further acquaintance with this city. The mention of the dates I have just referred to (1845 and 1893) reminds us of the flight of time, and this again reminds us of what is well known to all the members of our Association, that this is the year of our Jubilee. We have been in existence for fifty years. Only last week I was talking with Sir Albert Woods, Garter King of Arms, who told me that he was the oldest member of the Association, he having joined it fifty years ago, when it was first formed, and having continued a member ever since. He also reminded me that at the time he joined the Society, my father joined the Association too; and ever since then, throughout these fifty years, my family, either in the person of my father, or one of my brothers, or myself, has maintained a continuity of succession of union with this Association. But when I look back upon these fifty years, and look around for those who were the very founders of the Association, I am constrained to ask, ‘Our

fathers, where are they ?' They, indeed, have passed away ; but other members have joined the Association, and are pressing forward with the same object as the founders had,—to maintain and extend the knowledge of archaeology throughout the country.

"I may, perhaps, be permitted to remind you of the position in which archaeology stood fifty years ago, when this Association was formed. In London there was the Society of Antiquaries, besides which there were one or two other provincial Societies ; but the Archaeological Associations throughout the kingdom were so few that you could count them upon the fingers of your hand. Since that time, however, and largely owing to the establishment and success of the British Archaeological Association, so many Societies have come into existence that there is hardly a county throughout the country which has not its local Association ; some so strong, that, like the Kent Association, they can show a roll of 900 members, all pursuing their way with enthusiasm in bringing to light the story of the past. Looking upon these Societies, I hope I may be excused saying that we regard them with some degree of parental pride, feeling that they have emanated in so large a measure from the activities of our own Association ; and when we see how numerous and how vigorous these local Associations are, the words of the Roman poet seem not inapplicable to ourselves, ' Pulchra te prole parentem'.

"There may, in this city, be those who ask, What are the objects of the Association ? To this I would reply, they are, and ever have been, to search out anything which has to do with man in bygone days, and to trace his progress from the first indications that we have of him in the dim past, inhabiting cave and lake-dwellings, onward through all the ages until we see him standing in the full light of civilisation. During the fifty years that our Association has been in existence, great strides have been made in the progress of archaeology.

"When our Association met here, forty-eight years ago, there was a church in this city (St. Thomas's) then threatened with destruction. This Association did what it could to preserve the existence of that church ; but the Association then had not that force which archaeological societies have now, and that church has passed out of existence, and about the only trace of it now to be found is that preserved in the *Journal* of our Association, where, besides the verbal descriptions, are illustrations showing the form and appearance of the building. Similar buildings in many places have since been saved by the exertions of such Societies as ours.

"But besides rescuing many churches from destruction during the last fifty years, this and kindred Associations have been the means, during that period, of having many other churches restored. I know that the word 'restoration' to some archaeologists is obnoxious ; to

them it signifies a bad thing. It is by such considered synonymous with pulling down and rebuilding an edifice altogether ; which, of course, is not restoration, but destruction. Thanks, however, to our Association and kindred Associations, during the last fifty years, a great number of those buildings which have needed repair and preservation have not been so dealt with : loose mortar has been removed, a good cement inserted in its place, but the stones themselves have not been removed. The old buildings, whilst secured, have been kept to the eye practically untouched ; and our influence in preserving these churches when they are being restored has been increasing year by year.

"There are a great number of other ancient buildings and monuments of various kinds that we have been instrumental in preserving. During recent years Parliament has sanctioned an Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments ; an Act which would not have been carried fifty years ago because there was not then force of public opinion enough behind Members of Parliament to have carried such a Bill through the two Houses.

"These are some good results which have come immediately from the existence of our Association. At a meeting held at Burlington House within the last three or four weeks we were told of steps which are now being taken to extend the knowledge of archaeology in many directions, and I was surprised and pleased to hear how in the National Schools and Board Schools of Yorkshire and Somersetshire and elsewhere children are actually being taught some of the elements of archaeology. That would have been impossible fifty years ago ; and so we are extending even to the poor of our population some interest in the past history of their neighbourhoods, and quickening their lives to nobler purposes by enabling them to know the acts and thoughts of men long dead, but still for ever witnessed to by the buildings and other remains which greet the sight of the living.

"We have come, Sir, to your city, the civic Corporation of which so well deserve the words of eulogy pronounced upon it in the eloquent sermon by the Dean to which we listened yesterday. Last week many of us who were not present were reading with no little interest the proceedings which took place in connection with the quingentenary of the College for which your city has become so famous. For what a lengthened period has that College existed. But when Wykeham founded that School, five hundred years ago, your city was then ancient. Sir, we have here before us, upon the walls of this chamber, a record of when your city was first built, hundreds and thousands of years ago. I suppose that there may be some who do not believe absolutely in its foundation in the year B.C. 800 ; but certainly the most sceptical must unhesitatingly admit that for centuries before Wykeham came here Winchester was a strong and vigorous city.

"Mr. Mayor, this is not the first time that I have had the privilege of visiting Winchester. When, a few years ago, I was compiling a work upon the Great Seals of England, one of your predecessors in office permitted me to examine the charters possessed by your Corporation, to which the Great Seals of former sovereigns were attached. Amongst those I thus examined I found one of Henry II. I mention this charter of Henry II because it was not a charter of incorporation, but simply a charter granting additional privileges to a city that had been in existence for hundreds of years before. What an ancient city you represent!"

"We have come on this occasion with great expectation of learning much from what we may see in your neighbourhood, from what we may see of your College, from what we may see of your Cathedral, and from what we hope to see of your own city. Most heartily do I, on behalf of the British Archaeological Association, thank you for the welcome which you have so kindly extended to us on the threshold of our work."

Following the opening meeting, two hours were profitably passed at the Cathedral, under the guidance of the Very Rev. the Dean. Assembling in the choir, the Dean proceeded to sketch the features associated with that part of the building, mentioning that most of the party were under the site of the famous tower of the Cathedral which fell in 1107. William Rufus was buried where the tomb commonly known as Rufus' tomb now is; but when they cleared away the rubbish after the fall of the tower, they apparently moved Rufus' bones, and these eventually got into one of the boxes which Henry of Blois placed around the Norman Church, an inscription on the box stating that the bones lay within. The tomb they saw was that of a prior or a bishop (possibly of the Cathedral Church), and was of the style of the twelfth century or thereabouts. Strangers remarked it was a pity they did not have a spire; that would probably spoil the appearance of the Church, and would probably bring it down. No concrete was used in the foundations, the pier resting on one large stone, about 7 ft. by 6 ft., laid down on top of the peat. He called attention to the styles of architecture, and to the richly decorated wooden roof put on by Bishop Fox about the year 1501 or 1502, the distinguishing feature being its fine bosses and ornamentation; the Dean pointing out that the bays contained the arms of Fox (a pelican), the royal coats of arms, probably the most complete collection of all the emblems of the Passion to be found in England, the badge of Henry VII, the letters H. R. (*Henricus Rex*), etc. The roof over the choir-stalls was put up in the reign of Charles I, probably when it was found desirable to have a special belfry. He referred to the chests of Italian workmanship which were placed around the choir by the care of Bishop Fox, and which contained the

bones of the early kings, and mentioned that not only did the bones of Rufus rest in the Cathedral, but those of Richard, the other son of William the Conqueror, who also perished while hunting in the New Forest.

Having touched briefly upon the tombs of John of Pontoise and of Bishop Courtenay, the great screen, the beautifully carved fourteenth century woodwork, and Prior Silkstede's pulpit, the Dean took the visitors to the crypt. In this interesting part of the Cathedral considerable time was spent. The Dean, speaking of the excavations which were carried out under his directions in the crypt, stated that 3 or 4 ft. of soil (some 1,500 loads in all) had to be removed. There was evidence that the whole of this soil was laid down by degrees before the year 1200, the crypt having become useless, and probably swamped by the holding back of the water by the late Norman people who built their mills on the stream. In digging a trench the workmen got down on the real soil, about 18 in. below a kind of peat, through which the surface-water of the town still ran, and on the top of which was found an ancient British skate made from fish-bones. He alluded to the opinion that the Cathedral was on the site of a British or Roman church, and that the well in the crypt was a baptistery well; and in connection with this Mr. Park-Harrison and Mr. Brock concurred with the Dean, that two fragments of masonry pointed out were part of the oldest Winchester church. They are at the junction of the Lady Chapel with the east end.

Leaving the crypt, a halt was made in the north transept, at the back of the organ. Here Walkelin's work was dealt with, the blocked-up Pilgrims' Doorway indicated, and the mutilation of the Holy Sepulchre Chapel spoken of.

Thence a move was made to the spot whereon stood St. Swithin's shrine (between the chantries of Beaufort and Waynflete), to the Lady Chapel, and to the Holy Angels' Chantry. Special attention was last directed towards Fox's beautiful chantry, and to the relics preserved at the back of the screen between the chantry and Gardiner's tomb.

After luncheon the members assembled at Winchester College, where they were received and conducted over the building by the Bursar, T. F. Kirby, Esq., who expressed the regret of the Head Master, Dr. Fearon, that a previous engagement at Marlborough College necessitated his absence.

Addressing the party first in Outer Court, Mr. Kirby remarked that the buildings were commenced in 1387, just after Wykham had completed the building of the sister College at Oxford, and then went on to describe the offices and the material used in the building. Moving into Inner or Chamber Court, Mr. Kirby gave an account of the original society, and the mode in which they lived. A glance at the

picture known as "The Trusty Servant", and then the dining-hall in which the Warden, Fellows, and scholars used to dine, but which had now become simply a room in which the scholars on the foundation took their meals, was next visited, Mr. Kirby observing that the hall (although an upper chamber) was originally paved with stone and strewn with rushes. He recalled some of the modes in which the scholars and foundationers in the old times were wont to engage in festivals; and as a reason why Wykeham built the dining-hall above ground, Mr. Kirby said it enabled him to get the same level for his roof for both Chapel and hall. Having regard to the size of the hall, Mr. Kirby mooted the probability of Wykeham's contemplating a considerable attendance of day-boys.

In the Chapel, Mr. Kirby remarked that it was constructed originally to accommodate 120. Some twenty years ago an attempt was made to make it hold about 400. The only portion that had escaped alteration was, he believed, the roof and the walls. The reredos was put up by subscription in 1470; but the original statues were destroyed in the time of Edward VI. Some of the original glass of the Jesse window was at South Kensington; but that now in the window was said to be a very good copy of the original. The tower was rebuilt about thirty years ago, and the present tower was really the third.

Leaving the Chapel, Mr. Kirby said the Cloisters were, no doubt, part of the original design, and were built by Wykeham himself. In summer time the school used to be kept in the Cloisters. The roof was peculiar, and architects had told him it was very admirable. It was said a spider's web was never to be found there; but the swallows and bats would account for the absence of spiders. The Chapel in the centre (Fromond's Chapel) was no part of the original design.

The picturesque garden of the Warden was next walked through, Mr. Kirby mentioning that the stream was always there, and existed when the College was built. He pointed out the path down which Henry VI used to walk when going to service in the College Chapel; alluded to the former existence, on the site, of Elizabeth's College and St. Stephen's Chapel; and to the conversion of what was a paddock into a garden by the Warden of the College a hundred years ago.

The visitors went out by the gate at the north-east corner of the Warden's garden, and crossed over to Wolvesey Palace, Mr. Kirby, at their wish, accompanying them, and telling the story of Bishop Morley's building for an episcopal residence. The ruins and grounds were viewed, and Rev. G. N. Godwin reminded the visitors that they were on the site where a great portion of *The Saxon Chronicle* was written. At Wolvesey, too, King Philip lodged just before his marriage with Queen Mary. The walls were dismantled when Cromwell captured Winchester in 1645.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Kirby on the proposition of Mr. Allan Wyon.

The members next proceeded to St. Cross Hospital. Here the Master (the Rev. W. G. Andrewes) was in attendance, and took the party through the church. He stated it was commenced about the year 1136. Their founder was Henry de Blois. One portion of the church was pure Norman, and the remainder a century later. The colouring at the chancel end was carried out by Mr. Butterfield (who had just given up his connection with St. Cross) about twenty-seven years ago. St. Cross was now a parish church for St. Faith. He called attention to the Renaissance carving on either side of the chancel, mentioning that Lord Northbrook (the President of the Congress) had expressed a wish to bear the cost of making good the damaged portions, and the delay in doing so had arisen simply from the difficulty of finding some one competent to undertake the work. The brasses in the chancel were also remarked upon; the story of the generous anonymous friend, "O. Z.", retold; and the rich architectural features, including the singular triple arch, were indicated. Many of the associations of the church were recalled, the Rev. G. N. Godwin making a few observations as to the buildings carried out by Henry de Blois, who had no less than six great houses in progress in one year, and as to the visits of the pilgrims on their way to Canterbury. In the dining-hall the triptych attributed to Albert Dürer was admired, and the old jack, the salt-cellars, and the candlesticks examined with curiosity. The custom of the charcoal fire in the middle of the hall was stated to be still kept up on certain occasions. The kitchen was gone into, and the Master also took the visitors through the passage of his house, directing attention to much interesting coloured glass; and into his library, from the windows of which a charming glimpse was got of the brethren's houses, with the trimly kept lawn, the sun-dial, and the bright patches of garden.

Before quitting the Hospital many of the visitors partook of the dole of bread and beer at the Porter's Lodge.

In the evening a *conversatione* was given at the Guildhall by the Mayor and Mayoress, to which a number of citizens were invited to meet the President and the members of the Association and lady friends. In all, the guests numbered about two hundred. The large Hall was tastefully decorated, and a collection of objects of interest, prints, engravings, etc., was on view, the following contributing thereto,—The Very Rev. the Dean, the Dean and Chapter, Mr. T. Stopher, Mr. W. H. Jacob, Mr. H. Butt, Mr. W. Bailey, Mr. Allan Wyon, Mr. B. D. Cancellor, Mr. N. C. H. Nisbett, Mr. R. Avery, Mr. S. Newman, Miss Mayo, Mr. Lisle, Mr. T. C. Langdon, Mr. P. S. Langdon, His Honour Judge Leonard, the Very Rev. Canon Gunning, Mr.

C. J. Cushen, Mr. G. Barter, Mr. H. E. Johnson, and Mr. W. S. Gardiner. The Mayor and Mayoress received their guests. Mr. Luard played selections on the organ.

During the evening the company assembled in the Sessions Hall, where the Earl of Northbrook delivered the Presidential Address.

The Very Rev. the Dean then exhibited and explained some interesting fragments of altar-linen from the Meon Valley. He prefaced this by a few thoughts as to the aspirations of archaeologists, and alluding to the Meon Valley, spoke of it as a Valley in which all things were old, and where it seemed to him life was as tranquil and unchanged as it could be in any portion of the dominions of England.

On the motion of Mr. Allan Wyon, seconded by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, a vote of thanks was passed to the President for his Address.

Refreshments for their guests were bountifully provided by the Mayor and Mayoress.

TUESDAY, 1ST AUGUST 1893.

On Tuesday morning a party left the Guildhall to attend the reception by the President at Stratton Park. The first destination was Stoke Charity, but a halt was made on the high point above the Worthy Downs known as Waller's Ash. From this vantage-ground Mr. T. W. Shore directed attention to the surrounding country, especially that lying between the valleys of the Itchen and the Test, indicating the sites of camps and barrows. The particular spot on which they were was a burial-place, a few hundred yards to the left being the remains of a long barrow. The clump of trees which stood there was, he believed, upon the site of one of the finest examples of a bowl-barrow to be found in the south of England ; and if so, was one of the finest remains in Hampshire. The party accompanied Mr. Shore inside the clump of trees to see the bowl and outer ditch.

The Rev. G. N. Godwin also explained that the site derived its name from Sir William Waller, the Parliamentarian General. There was a cavalry charge on the Down in 1645, when Cromwell was besieging Winchester. The "Club Men", who had tried to bring about a diversion, were swept away, and the last hope of the King for the relief of Winchester was gone.

At Stoke Charity the Rev. C. W. Streatfeild (Rector) received the visitors at the church, and Mr. Shore gave a brief description, commencing by observing that they had been passing that day over a country which was renowned in the history of England, and almost every yard of which had its story of distinguished personages going to

and from old Winchester. Having explained that in Hampshire the word "Stoke" was associated with settlements where fords were used, he went on to refer to the holding of the manor, which was taken away from Hyde Abbey by William the Conqueror, and given to one of his Norman followers. In the thirteenth century it was held by Henry de la Charité, whose name had since clung to it. The church exhibited Norman architecture.

Mr. Greenfield exhibited rubbings of the brasses in the church to Richard Waller, to Thomas Hampton (1483), and Isabella his wife.

The Rev. G. N. Godwin gave a few particulars with reference to the Hampton family, and directed especial attention to the Waller Chapel and the tomb of Charity Ogle, to whom Cromwell gave safe conduct out of Winchester Castle, but she died on the road.

The rich moulding of the chancel-arch and interesting relics were pointed out by Mr. Shore, including what was believed to be a representation of the Mass of St. Gregory, apparently of 16th century date.

Seats were resumed, and a drive to Mitcheldever followed, the halt taking place at the church, where the Rev. Waldegrave Bell (Vicar) was waiting. Although the church itself has not much antiquity, comparable with that at Stoke Charity, Mr. Shore said the Perpendicular tower was one of the finest examples of a parish church tower in Hampshire. Mitcheldever grew into importance through its connection with the Monastery. The church is octagonal, rebuilt after a fire.

In reference to the holding of the land by the early kings, Mr. Shore said they had passed that day over much of the land which belonged to the kings who ruled at Winchester. In Hampshire they had twenty kings (real men) before the days of Egbert. Hampshire folk denied that they were ever a shire. There was no such place as Hampshire legally : it was originally a kingdom. He spoke of the gift of the land to the New Minster by Edward the Elder, while after the Conquest the Abbey of Hyde held the manor by the feudal tenure of three knights' fees.

Colonel Lambert, while outside the church, remarked that they were standing near the unknown burial-place of one of his great ancestors, Rubini.

Inside the church the visitors were greatly interested in the beautiful monumental tablets, by Flaxman, to members of the Baring family, one visitor stating that Flaxman's models for two of the tablets were in Dorchester Museum. The Vicar also showed a handsome silver chalice, which was a gift to the church from Lady Rachel Russell.

Stratton was reached punctually at the appointed time, half-past one. Here the guests entered the mansion, where they were welcomed by Earl Northbrook, who entertained them at luncheon.

After luncheon several visitors went with the Rev. S. E. Lyon to see the church at East Stratton, built by Lord Northbrook; and his Lordship personally conducted a larger party through the beautiful avenue known as Lady Russell's Walk, and to some of the choice bits of woodland in which the park abounds.

Mr. Shore, with his Lordship's consent, made a few remarks as to the diversion of the Roman Road from Silchester to Winchester, which passes through the park; and the Rev. G. N. Godwin, as one who inclined to the belief that St. Paul visited Britain, alluded to the possibility of the Road having been hallowed by the feet of the Apostle.

Returning to the front of the mansion shortly before four o'clock, Mr. Wyon, in the name of the Association, thanked Lord Northbrook for the services he had rendered, and for the hospitable manner in which he had received them at his beautiful house. The Rev. S. M. Mayhew (one of the Vice-Presidents) seconded, and the vote was carried with hearty cheering.

His Lordship returned thanks in a few genial words.

The return journey commenced at four o'clock. On the way home a halt for a few minutes was made at King's Worthy Church, where the Rev. F. Baring, Rector, was in attendance upon the visitors, and Mr. Shore said a little concerning the church; and attention was called to the font, in which are remains of ironwork, leading to the belief that it was once kept locked.

A much longer halt was made at Headbourne Worthy, where Mr. Brock pointed out the remains of an undoubted Saxon work. He said the church was one of the most curious of those they should see during the Congress. For the information of the party he pointed out the technicalities of the Saxon work. The stone was Quarr Abbey stone. Standing beneath the west door of the Saxon church, Mr. Brock called attention to the remains of the rude figure of the Crucifixion, which at one time must have stood out from the wall with a certain amount of prominence, the carving being of the same date as the Saxon doorway. At Romsey they would see the figure of the Saviour, with a hand above it, precisely of the same design. The bowl of the font he took to be Saxon, of the same date as the church.

Having spoken of the later architecture of the building, Mr. Shore added a few words expressing the conviction that there was a considerable number of churches in Hampshire the walls of which contained Saxon work, if the doorways and windows were later. He regretted the churches at Corhampton and Hambledon had not been included in the programme for the week.

Winchester was reached, on the return journey, a little after six o'clock.

The first of the evening meetings, for the reading of papers, was held in the Sessions Hall of the Guildhall in the evening, the Mayor presiding.

The Dean of Winchester read a paper on "The History of the Cathedral Font of Winchester", which has been printed at pp. 6-16.

Mr. Brock proposed a vote of thanks to the Dean for his most elaborate and learned paper, at the same time concurring that the font was not English work.

Mr. Allan Wyon seconded, and ventured to add the united thanks of the members to the Dean for his sermon on Sunday.

The motion was accorded by acclamation, and replied to by the Dean.

Mr. T. F. Kirby read a paper on Fromond's Chapel at Winchester College, which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Rev. S. M. Mayhew moved the thanks of the Association to Mr. Kirby for his paper, and in so doing referred to Wykeham's work in Winchester.

Mr. Brock seconded, and it was accorded by acclamation.

Replying to a vote of thanks for presiding, the Mayor expressed the hope that the Association might see their way to visit the city again before the lapse of another fifty years.

(*To be continued.*)

Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Origins of Pictish Symbolism. By the EARL OF SOUTHESK, K.T. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1893.)—The theory regarding the “Pictish Symbols” propounded in Lord Southesk’s work on the subject, *Origins of Pictish Symbolism*, is hardly likely to be generally accepted without qualification; while, on the other hand, it is that of an author who has every advantage as to the knowledge of the sculptured stones of the north-east of Scotland; and with certain modifications it may be an important contribution to the subject.

The theory is that the well-known but still rather mysterious symbols found in many places in the districts in question, carved on stones which sometimes are hardly shaped at all, and in other cases are wrought into the most elaborately decorated crosses; there being no line of demarcation whatever between those which accompany the cross in some shape (and they are very numerous), and those without it,—that these symbols are of Scandinavian origin, and at the same time were in use as early as the fifth century. No Norsemen are historically known in Britain till shortly before 800, when they descended like thunderbolts on the island monasteries; and a peaceable colonisation by small bands of them, at the early period in question, suggested as the channel of the symbols by Lord Southesk, would have been rendered nearly impossible by the sea-roving Saxons, who about 400 were much what the Norsemen were later. The Picts actually appear in frequent alliance with the Saxons, whose mythology would seem to have been much the same as that of the Norsemen; while the case is further complicated by the existence, within the limits of Scotland, of the small states (afterwards united, apparently) of the half-Roman Britons, the small kingdom of the Irish Scots in Argyleshire, and of whatever part of the population may have been of an older non-Aryan race.

But, on the other hand, the sculptured stones in question are attributed by the results of modern research to a much later period; in fact, quite that of the Scandinavians in Britain; on an average, perhaps, to about the tenth century.

All evidence for their being very old seems to break down. Nor do the inscriptions seem to help: they are often sepulchral, while the carvings, generally speaking, are not. But the sort of date ascribed to them makes it likely that some of the symbolism at least may be

Scandinavian. The Viking relics found in the north of Scotland are richly ornamented. The interesting crescent-shaped blade or ornament referred to, which is engraved in the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* (vol. xiv, p. 269), which has several of the symbols, if the old drawing can be trusted, is probably not very old. If it could be recovered and analysed, it would probably be found to be of zinc-bronze, said to be characteristic of the "late iron age" and the Viking monuments. (See p. 69 of the same vol.)

Indeed, as to particular symbols, many simple forms have been used in many different countries and at different periods. As regards perhaps the commonest and best known of those in question, which is known as "the spectacle-ornament", Lord Southesk adopts Mr. Campbell's suggestion, that it is meant for the sun and moon (see the Introduction to the *West Highland Tales*) ; but when there are inner circles or dots, he considers it more especially the sign standing for Frey and Freya in the Norse symbolism.

But it is precisely in this form that the symbol appears on some of the early British coins of the type of those of Cunobelinus. In one in the British Museum the crescents (which are part of Mr. Campbell's suggestion) are very distinct. They seem to have ears of corn streaming from them. There is a statement in Cormack's Glossary, that the pagan Irish carved the symbols of the elements, which they adored, on the altars of their idols. There were two races of Britons in the east of England, and one of them may have been Gaelic; but the Norsemen were nearer to Scottish Pictavia.

What is especially puzzling is, that while the West Highlands were colonised by the Irish Scots, and the Hebrides by the Norsemen, nothing very like the Pictish symbols has ever been found in either.

The Z, Lord Southesk regards as being sometimes at least the lightning. This has been suggested before, and it is often very like it as it appears in pictures; but when he proposes to connect it with Thor (p. 28), it must strike every one as a very poor substitute for his hammer. Even in the Egyptian hieroglyphics an axe is the distinguishing sign of a deity, and occurs whenever any of the gods are mentioned.

The crescent form, called "the Cocked Hat", Lord Southesk would regard as a rounded axe. The comb and scissors, as well as the book, he is certainly right in regarding as ecclesiastical symbols.

As to the animal forms, the meaning of some of them must depend on the date. It is a sadly flat and uninteresting explanation of the symbols, that even part of them are merely remains of the picture-teaching of the Middle Ages; but certainly Dr. Joseph Anderson (*Scotland in Early Christian Times*) has made out a strong case for the Bestiary as the source of some.

As to the elephant, of which Lord Southesk scouts the possibility as an ecclesiastical symbol, it was *celibacy*, properly speaking, which was the great virtue of the Middle Ages. It was the crown of her saintship that St. Audrey left her husband altogether, and retired into the disorderly convent on St. Abb's Head. And as the elephant, valuable servant of man as he is, will not breed in a domesticated state, but always remains in some degree wild, he was about the most obvious symbol that could be chosen ; though, it may be added, the representation is more like that of a walrus.

The wolf and boar, both pretty well executed, with the sun-circles, may represent winter.

The fish, always neatly executed, may be ecclesiastical ; or possibly, if elemental, may stand for water ; but the impossibility of being sure of the meaning of symbols, in many cases, is well shown by the variety of meanings assigned to the serpent. Lord Southesk calls it "the Sun-Snake". The Norsemen used it much in decoration. Mr. Dennis considers the Etruscan snake-deities may represent the powers which cause earthquakes, and the small Scotch snake may stand for earth. The serpent belonged to Saturn in Roman mythology. It sometimes means wickedness, sometimes wisdom ; and the snake-dance of the Moqui Indians of Arizona is a ceremony performed in hopes of bringing rain.

The engravings in *Pictish Symbolism*, though on a very small scale, give a fair idea of the objects.

Wherstead, Territorial and Manorial, by F. BARHAM ZINCKE [late] Vicar. London : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co. Ipswich : Read and Barratt.—Pleasantly situated on the wooded banks of the Orwell, Wherstead has to thank its late energetic Vicar for some interesting local history, and should be edified by the morals drawn therefrom in support of the author's well-known political ideals. The church, the architecture of which ranges in date from Norman to Perpendicular, stands well above the river, and the black ball below the weathercock is used, Mr. Zincke tells us, as a sailing-mark. The advowson was granted in 1207, by Gerard de Hachesham, to the Black Augustine Canons of St. Peter's, Ipswich, in whose hands it remained till their suppression in 1527, when their revenues went to found Wolsey's College at Ipswich. From the date of his disgrace and forfeiture it has continued Crown property. The list of Vicars is complete from the year 1300. The Registers contain an unusually large number of notices of collections in the latter part of the 17th century, the object of some of which it is perhaps difficult to explain. Mr. Zincke has been unfortunate in not lighting upon any startling addition to Suffolk folk-lore, and here, as elsewhere, will certainly fail

to hold the attention of his readers through too much desire to be didactic. Perhaps the best chapters are those which deal with East Anglian words and expressions. Among them are *smeaky* (used of tainted meat); *bleuse* (of a miasma); *the London Road* (of the Milky Way, as its Chaucerian analogue, *Watling Street*); *Canada* (of an allotment); and *Inder* (of a vast quantity).

Readers of *Romany Rye*, who are not East Anglians, may remember the custom of wishing one *the seal of the day*, which the author mentions and compares with *haysel* (the time of Hay) and *bark seal* (the time of stripping bark). From the same source may be gleaned the adverb *jounock* (straightforwardly), which corresponds in formation with Mr. Zincke's frequentative verbs in *ock*. *Eleet* (of cross-roads) is curious, with its compounds *three-eleet* and *four-eleet* (trivium and quadrivium). A large and valuable find of Roman coins was made in ploughing in 1803; and many flint implements and fragments of Romano-British pottery have been discovered, shewing that the spot must have been continuously inhabited from a very early period. The last few chapters are occupied with a detailed account of the parish, as it appears in *Domesday*, and of the leading features of the manorial system, with the inevitable moral, the nature of which can well be anticipated. The history of later landholders is meagre: among them are the Brands, the Vernons, and the Harlands, each of which families produced its admiral—the famous Admiral Vernon being M.P. for the neighbouring borough of Ipswich. The book is very well printed, and, besides a few lithographic illustrations, has some very successful reproductions of portraits by the autotype process.

Bygone Surrey: its History, Antiquities, Industries, Local Customs, and Folk-lore, will be shortly edited by GEORGE CLINCH and S. W. KERSHAW, M.A., F.S.A.—Every part of Surrey may be truly described as historic ground, and no apology need be offered for including it in the "Bygone" Series, of which several volumes have already been issued. The whole district abounds in interesting traces and memorials of former times. Well-nigh every parish has its ancient church, sometimes rich in colour decoration, consecrated by holy memories and associations with the past; and quaint, half-timber houses and cottages exist throughout almost the entire area of the county. Ruined castles and religious houses; ancient ways and roads (including the remarkable Pilgrims' Way); relics of prehistoric times, in place-names and traditions, as well as curious and old-world customs, are among the various antiquarian features which characterise the history of bygone Surrey; and every effort will be made in the volume, which is now in active preparation for publication, to present these and many kindred branches of the subject in a manner at once accurate and readable.

Several well-known authors have already kindly undertaken to contribute chapters upon subjects about which they are specially qualified to write, and pictorial art will be freely employed in illustration of their communications. The editors will be pleased to receive suggestions for further contributions upon subjects not already appropriated, if sent immediately.

The book will be issued to subscribers at 5s. per copy, and on the day of publication it will be advanced to 7s. 6d.

Among others who will assist in writing *Bygone Surrey*, are the following:—Granville Leveson-Gower, J.P., F.S.A., Percy M. Thornton, M.P., Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., Rev. E. A. Kempson, M.A., S. W. Kershaw, M.A., F.S.A., Mrs. Boger, C. Beeston, Edward Lamplough, William Andrews, F.R.H.S., H. F. Napper, George Clinch, etc., etc.

The following are a few of the promised contributions:—Farnham, Surrey Superstitions and Folk-lore, Ancient Ways and Roads (including the “Pilgrims’ Way”), Old Surrey Spas, Mediæval Croydon, Lambeth Palace, Richmond and Nonsuch Palaces, Guildford, Early Surrey Industries, The Ancient Coronation Stone, Kingston-on-Thames, Old Clapham, Southwark in the Olden Time, Provincialisms of Surrey and Merton Abbey.

Antiquities of Llangollen.—The Rev. H. T. Owen, having spent a considerable sum on excavations at Valle Crucis Abbey during the last ten years, would now feel glad for a little help from the public to enable him to make further discoveries. The last and most important is the discovery of the ancient porch and gateway of the monastery. This last has been a very interesting find, and much more might be brought to light if funds were forthcoming.

Any amount, however small, will be acceptable, and may be sent to Mr. H. T. Owen, Valle Crucis, Llangollen.

The Curfew Gate.—The embattled gate-tower, commonly known as the “Curfew-Gate”, is a fine relic of the fifteenth century. It constitutes the sole surviving fragment of the famous Abbey of Barking, which, from the seventh century until the sixteenth, held a place of great importance in the ecclesiastical and even the civil history of the country. The tower is an ornament to the parish, of which all the parishioners, without distinction, are justly proud; but it is in a very ruinous condition. Unless repair is undertaken promptly, there is cause to fear that the security of the fabric will be imperilled. The cost of thoroughly securing the tower is estimated roughly at £500, and a representative Committee has been formed to raise the money. It is hoped that all will contribute to a work which is manifestly

important, not only to the best interests of the parish, but to antiquaries generally. The Committee have placed the work in the hands of Mr. Charles Dawson, who carried out the repair of the church some few years ago, and he will furnish plans after consultation with one of the eminent specialists in mediæval architecture.

Subscriptions may be sent to Mr. W. K. Marriott, The Manor House, Barking, Treasurer of the Committee.



The Curfew Gate, Barking.

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IN AND ABOUT LEEDS AND BROMFIELD
PARISHES, KENT.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

(*Read 17th Jan. 1894.*)

WHILE Leeds Priory remained, the duties of the parish church were evidently performed by one or other of the canons, who would seem to have had that function assigned to him; for in a Canterbury Charter dated 1341, a Nicholaus is named as "vicarius ecclesie"; again, in a will of John Forde, in 1446, a bequest is made to "Willielmus Fox, clericus ecclesie"; and in a later will of the year 1501, Willielmus Portland is described as "perpetuus vicarius". But when Elizabeth conferred the advowson and revenues of the Leeds portion of the suppressed Priory on Archbishop Parker, the clergy of the parish came to be called "Archbishop's Curates"; and so strictly were they regarded in that light, that down to the year 1793 not a single record of any appointment to Leeds or Bromfield appears in the Registers at Lambeth, where ordinarily every institution to a benefice, whether rectory or vicarage, is duly entered; showing that this was regarded as a personal and private appointment attaching to the See.

It is not, therefore, in the Lambeth Registers, as would usually be the case, that any clue is found to the succession of the parochial clergy from the days when Leeds became an independent Cure under Archbishop Parker,

but only from the Church Registers. On one of the last pages of the oldest of these is a list, apparently written in the latter part of the seventeenth century, professing to give the succession and the dates down to that time. This list has been adopted by Hasted; but it is palpably incorrect. For instance, while it rightly gives Henry Tilden¹ as the first of these clergy, as the handwriting and signature at the foot of every page ("per me Henricum Tilden, Curat") shows, it states that he was succeeded by Thomas Angood in 1575, whereas the same signature and handwriting are continued till 1610, in which year Tilden's death is recorded, and the name of Thomas Angood first appears, and is continued at the foot of each page till 1615, when it gives place to that of Humfridus Wilson, who died three years after, and was succeeded by William Cragg, and after a short interval by Matthew Lawrence, and a few weeks later by John Blackbourne, and then by John Lockwood in 1625. The last four appointments must have been made in the primacy of Archbishop Abbot. With Lockwood came a break in the spell of short tenures, for he retained the curacy for ten years. In 1635 Archbishop Laud, who had succeeded Abbot, appointed Richard Marsh, and in 1641 William Frauncis. Of none of these men is anything on record.

The time was now to come when there was no Archbishop to provide for the spiritual wants of the parish, but the ministrations of the Church were to be under the election and control of the "Parliamentary Triers", and their first appointment to Leeds was Nathaniel Wilmot in 1643. Four years after he was moved to Faversham, as being a more important post, where, according to Calamy, his powers as a preacher "wrought a great reformation in the town".² His place at Leeds was filled, in 1647, by Thomas Paramore, who seems to have lived

¹ Hasted says (vol. ii, folio ed., p. 484) that Elizabeth appointed Nicholaus Greneway to the curacy of Leeds in 1557, and gives Rymer's *Fodera* (vol. xv, p. 345) as his authority; but the page referred to in Rymer contains a list of appointments made, not by Elizabeth, but by Mary in the first year of her coming to the throne; and the original Patent Roll (1 Mary, m. 46, now m. 8) says that Greneway was appointed to Lanham (Lenham), and not to Leeds.

² Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. ii, p. 326.

here for twelve years, dying in 1659. Then came Thomas Chowning, of whom, as of Paramore, neither Neal nor Calamy makes mention. On his removal or death (for nothing is recorded of the circumstances of his leaving) came Thomas Shewell,¹ who had previously been at Lenham. He appears to have combined school-keeping with his curacy. The Restoration found him here; but on his refusal to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity he was ejected, and retired to his native town of Coventry, where he died suddenly in 1693.

On the Restoration the right of nominating to the curacy was resumed by Archbishop Juxon, who in 1662 filled the vacancy caused by Shewell's ejection by appointing John Moore; who, however, only remained a few months, and was succeeded by James Wilson, who retained the curacy for twenty years, dying in 1685. Archbishop Sancroft then selected Edward Waterman, of University College, Oxford, who remained here for forty years. On his death, in 1725, Archbishop Wake appointed Edward Harrison, who held the curacy for thirty years, till he died in 1755. The next appointment was made by Archbishop Herring, in the person of Denny Martin, of University College, Oxford. He is better known as Denny Fairfax, which name he took on succeeding his uncle, Lord Fairfax, in the Leeds estates. He resigned the curacy in 1793, and was succeeded by George Gage, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a young member of the family which then owned Milgate, in the adjoining parish of Bearsted.

In the days of Archbishop Moore promotion often followed very rapidly after ordination. Gage had only been ordained deacon in 1792, and priest in the beginning of the next year, and was almost immediately appointed to the vicarage of Bredgar, and before the year ended was moved to Leeds, which he only held for a few months, resigning it for better preferment in the following June. He was succeeded by James Young, of Christ's College, Cambridge, who also had only been ordained two years before. He held the curacy till his

¹ Hasted gives the name as "Showell", and places him at Lenham, in this probably following Calamy (*Nonconf. Mem.*, vol. ii, p. 329); but his name appears in the Leeds Register.

death in 1799, when another young man, William Horne, was appointed, the son of the learned Dr. Horne, then Rector of the neighbouring parish of Otham, and successively President of his College, Dean of Canterbury, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich. He, like his father, had been at Magdalen College, Oxford. He only held this curacy for about eighteen months, resigning it in 1800, and eventually succeeded his father in the family living of Otham.

On the resignation of William Horne, in 1800, came George St. John Mitchell, the fourth appointment made by Archbishop Moore to the Leeds curacy. His was a longer tenure of the curacy, for he held it till his death in 1814. After him came Thomas Lomas, who remained ere for nearly thirty years, dying in 1843,¹ at the advanced age of 83. His successor, again, William Burkitt, of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, had a still longer tenure, extending over thirty two years. On his death, in 1877, Adolphus Philipe Morris, of Worcester College, Oxford, was appointed, and is the present occupant of the Vicarage House.

Vicarage House there was none in former years, nor was one needed so long as the services of the parish church were performed by the canons of the Priory. Nor, indeed, did one exist for three centuries after the suppression of the Priory. There is an entry in the Parliamentary Survey of 1651, which had been made under orders of the Parliamentary Commissioners, now preserved in Lambeth Palace Library, that in that year "There is no Vicaridge house, or Vicar endowed, or any maintenance for a preaching minister here." Nor does the Vicar seem to have had any "local habitation" till the middle of the present century, when the present vicarage was built.

To provide an income for the Vicar, when Elizabeth gave the advowson and revenues to the Archbishop, she laid a charge on the See of a sum of £12 6s. 8d., "for the maintenance of the Preacher": which was always paid by the lessee of the Priory lands. To this Archbishop Juxon added a further sum of £30. The present income

¹ Lomas signs himself "Assistant Curate" in 1810, and afterwards "Off. Minister".

is paid by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as a definite charge on the revenues accruing to the See of Canterbury, uninfluenced by average or extraordinary tithes.

The Church Registers have, on the whole, been well written and preserved. They date from the year 1557. In the earliest book the baptisms and marriages are brought down to 1689; the burials to 1758. The entries to the close of the sixteenth century, in the handwriting of the first curate, Henry Tilden, are excellent specimens of the caligraphy and the ink of that period; but with the turn of the century signs of advancing old age may be seen in his less firm and distinct penmanship. On his death, in 1610, there appears a frequent succession of scribes, none so good as he; and in the middle of the seventeenth century, here, as in so many a parish, the growing contempt for Church ordinances betrays itself in the careless and irregular manner in which these Registers are kept. Down to 1645 the entries are more or less carefully made; but after that, for the next fifteen years, only very rare is the record of baptism or marriage or burial, and then only those of the families of the leading gentry. For instance, on one page, apparently written in the year 1662, appear records of births and baptisms of several children of Gregorie Odyarne (who was churchwarden that year), born between 1654 and 1659; three of Simon Rouse during the same period; four of Alexander Waterman; while the regular entries for those of baptisms, marriages, and burials alike, were rarely three in each year, and often none at all.

Before leaving the Register, it may be well to notice some of the comments which successive clergy have recorded on the fly-leaf. For instance, Thomas Anggood writes: "Rejoice rather in this, that your names are written in the Booke of Life."

John Lockwood writes: "A good name is better than a good ointment, and the daye of death than the daye that one is borne." (I. L.)

Richard Marsh writes: "Felices, quorum nomina reperiuntur in Christo"; and appends, "The memory of the just is blessed: but the name of the wicked shall rot." (Prov. x, 7.).

In an early hand, "Cœlo tegitur qui non habet urbam."

Under which appear the following lines of doggerel Latin :—

“The tymes of Marriage Exhibited.

“Conjugium Adventus prohibet, Hilarique relaxat :

Septuagena vetat : sed Paschæ Octava relaxat :

Rogamen vetitat : concedit Trina potestas.”

This entry can be capped, and explained, by one in the Parish Register at Everton (Notts). (Burn's *History of Registers*, p. 158.) :—

“Advent marriage doth deny, but Hilary gives thee liberty :
Septuagesima says thee nay, eight days from Easter says you may.
Rogation bids thee to contain, but Trinity sets thee free again.”

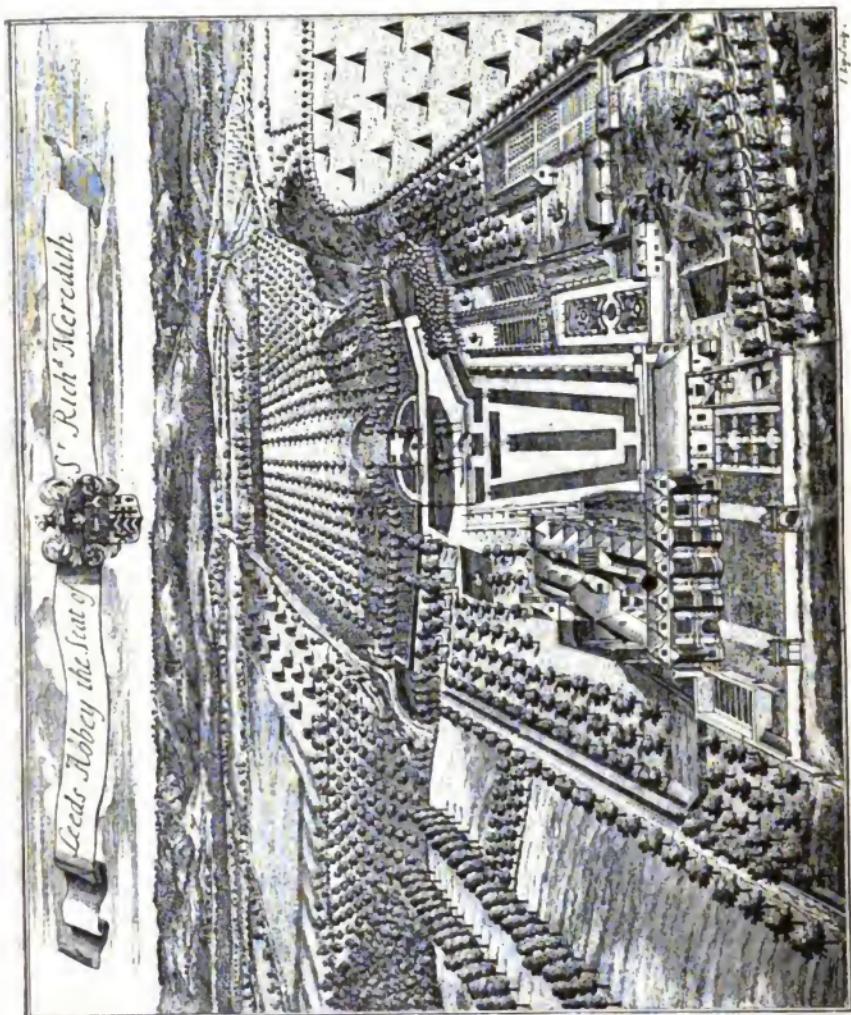
This page also contains the following piece of local history, from the pen of Edward Harrison, who was “curate” in A.D. 1751 :—

“The Steeple was till'd (tiled), the Church adorned,
the Chancel enriched, and the Curate impoverish't.”

It will not be out of place to notice here some of the interesting old houses which Leeds still retains. On the dissolution of the Priory, Henry VIII granted to his faithful, loyal, and diplomatic subject, Sir Anthony St. Leger, who already owned the castle, the lease of all the lands attached to the Priory, having ordered that all the monastic buildings should be pulled down and removed.¹ Subsequently Edward VI conferred on him the whole of the property, and from him it passed to his son Sir Warham, who sold it to his Hollingborne neighbour, Sir Francis Colepeper; it shortly after passed into the hands of William Covert, Esq., of Boxley, who added a new front to the range of buildings which had been erected on the higher ground adjoining, out of the materials of the demolished Priory, and thus produced the goodly mansion which came to be known as the “Abbey House”. Of this building not a trace appears to be left² and of its site and general character nothing would be known but

¹ An order so faithfully executed that not a vestige of them remains save a small shed now called (? in irony) “The Abbey”; and also, half way up the hill, a larger, barn-like building honoured by the title of “The Chapel”, and now used as a receptacle for lumber, and as a shelter for hop-pickers in the autumn.

² With the exception of a cellar in the present farmhouse, to which access is gained through a doorway in the side of the road, into an



Leeds Abbey the seat of
S^r Rich^r Mereshith

for the sketch of one J. Badslade, and the "graver" of that indefatigable artist Jan Kip, to whom posterity are indebted for so many representations of old country houses, as also to the archaeological zeal of Dr. J. Harris, who embellished the pages of his *History of Kent* with several of Kip's sketches.

It is only from this print of Leeds Abbey that any idea can be formed of the building as it stood in 1719. It presents a specimen of the style so familiar in buildings of that period, when the bolder massive architecture of the Tudors was being blended with the pseudo-classic Renaissance which superseded it. Its north-western face presented a long line of seven gables with pediments alternately curved and angular, and five oriel projections of two storeys with latticed casements and square attic windows in the gables above. In the second compartment from either end were arched gateways leading into a courtyard behind. In front was a green lawn, with two imposing gates, while on the west lay the pleasure-grounds, with their parterred flowerbeds and terraces, water-courses and fountains, and on the east, acres of orchard, rows on rows of fruit-trees. Such was the Abbey House when it was occupied by the Merediths. Soon after the death, in 1758, of Mrs. Susanna Meredith, the "Lady Bountiful of Leeds", the last survivor of the family, the trustees sold it to Mr. John Calcraft of Ingress, who greatly added to and improved the house. His son, on inheriting it, so lavishly embellished it with costly specimens of Italian art and manufacture, that his estate became impoverished, and, on his death in 1821, the house fell to the hammer, and its treasures were dispersed. It would seem that the very house was demolished, for the present plain and homely, though picturesque farmhouse, which is honoured by the name of the "Abbey House", has not a single feature corresponding with Kip's engraving.

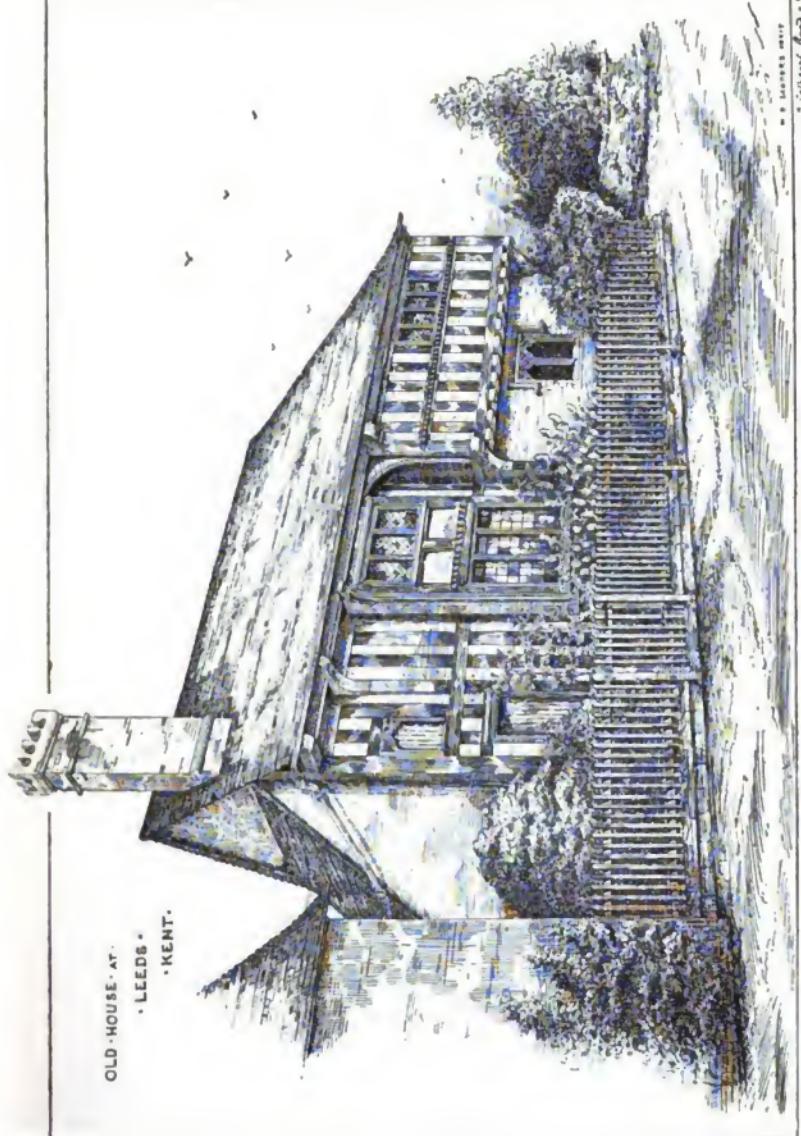
In different parts of the village may be detected carved work in stone and wood in more or less decay. One house, now known as the old "Manor House",

arched tunnel, 12 ft. long, in a solid wall, which must have formed the foundation of some massive portion of the out-buildings of the Priory itself.

retains some objects of special interest. It would seem, from its position, to have formed the entrance to the Priory grounds. In the wall facing the street is a stone window-frame of two lights, belonging to the fourteenth century, while a panel of delicate wood-carving of the Tudor period has been inserted in the "wood and wattle" addition of the sixteenth century.

Among the other private residences of the parish, the one which, probably, possesses the greatest historical interest, is that known as "Battle Hall". It lies on the other side of the Priory site, at a short distance from the church, between it and the Castle Park, and is now also occupied as a farmhouse. The origin of its name has long been a subject of conjecture among antiquaries. Several theories have been started to account for it. One is that it may have had some remote, and now forgotten, connection with the historic "Battle Abbey", near Hastings; but the fact of that Abbey belonging to the Benedictine Order, while the Leeds Priory was Augustinian, would seem to militate against such a connection. A second theory is that it formed a portion of the conventional range of buildings, having been the *buttery*, that part of the Priory offices from which the food, to this day called "Battels" in college language, was supplied, and that the present form of the name is a corruption of "Battell Hall". But its distance from what is known to have been the site of the Priory itself, little less than half a mile off, renders this improbable, as the entire *entourage* of a religious house ordinarily formed a contiguous and compact range of buildings enclosed within the precincts. A third theory, and one which certainly seems more plausible and probable, is that the name was derived from its being the advanced position and last camping-ground occupied by Edward II when he made his attack on the Castle in 1322. It is on record that the King passed the last night before that advance at Boxley Abbey: and a glance at the map would show that this house would lie almost in a direct line from Boxley towards the causeway and the barbican, on which point the attack would necessarily be made.

Whatever was the origin of the name, it was clearly



OLD-HOUSE AT
•LEEDS•
•KENT.

of considerable antiquity, for one William Portland, in his will, dated 1501, described himself as "Perpetuus Vicarius de Ledys", and at the time living "in villa de Bello". Almost every part of this house seems to indicate that it was built in troublous times and with a view to defence. The Early English doorways on both sides of the house, the staples still remaining in the massive walls, the beautiful tracery in windows now blocked up, tell of the days of the earlier Edwards; and so does the wide spanned arch in the spacious room now used as a kitchen, with its corbels representing two men in distorted attitudes, as though groaning under the superincumbent weight.

Here, too, in the passage leading from the front door into the large room already mentioned, is inserted in the wall a piece of exquisitely carved stonework, the object of which has been a moot point among antiquaries. (See illustration at p. 104.) A canopy of exquisitely delicate Decorated tracery rises over a basin of Bethersden marble, 2 ft. long, 9 in. wide, and nearly 4 in. deep; its size would probably suggest that it was designed as a lavatory rather than as either a stoup or a piscina. The background is filled in with a block of stone, so different in material and in character as to suggest its not having formed, or been designed to form, part of the original structure, but, happening to correspond in width with the canopy, to have been introduced to fill in the space at the back. It resembles two barrels side by side, placed on end, with a battlemented top, and two faces, one resembling that of a man, the other of a lion, the mouth of each serving for a spout, as it were, out of a cistern.

Battle Hall boasts also another object of interest. In one of the upper rooms is a long panel painting, composed of three planks, forming a panel 7½ ft. long, and by 2 ft. 9 in. deep. It contains seven figures, but the faces have been so utterly scratched and scraped by some savage iconoclastic hand, that it is only by the emblem which each figure bears that they can be identified. In the centre stands the Virgin Mary, holding the child Jesus in her right arm. On her right is St. Katherine, having a small traditional wheel with curved spikes, the instrument of her death, in her left hand, while her

right grasps a long, naked sword with its point resting on the ground; beyond her appears St. Agatha, her breasts pierced through by a short dagger. At the extreme right is a Bishop with a crozier in his left hand, and his right raised in the act of blessing. On the left hand of the Virgin stands St. George (or possibly St. Michael), thrusting his spear down the throat of the dragon; next to him St. Mary Magdalene, holding the box of ointment in her hand; while the last figure on that side seems to represent an ecclesiastic in full vestments.

Peaceful and orderly as the parish now appears, there are tell-tale records which disclose a less happy state of things in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The church had apparently fallen into disrepair, and a vestry meeting was convened to pass a church-rate, on which occasion the last days of old Mr. Tilden's life were saddened, the harmony of the parish was disturbed, and the feelings of the vestry deeply wounded, as appears from the following presentment made by the churchwardens to the Archdeacon:—"We present unto you William Evans, for that when we of the parish were assembled to make an assess for the repairing of our Church, he being in our company, used himself very troublesome in wordes, being oftentime out with his curse (we being in the chancel), he made his wagers; and that he was offensive and troublesome to most of us present: he was admonished to leave such business for another time and place: and he still persisting in his foward course swore he would doe it, being then near unto the communion table in the chauncel, etc."

And sad to state, another presentment reports four of the parishioners as being "most notorious drinkhards".

A tablet in the church, and also the Church Registers, tells us that Leeds has not been without its substantial benefactors:—"Charles Lumisden, gent., gave the sum of £200, to be *improved* for the augmentation of salary to the minister of Leeds residing, otherwise to the poor of the said parish, A.D. 1732."

"Mrs. Susan Meredith, of Leeds Abbey, gave a complete set of communion plate to this Church, at Easter-Day, 1751."

In the same year, "The Hon. Robert Fairfax, of Leeds

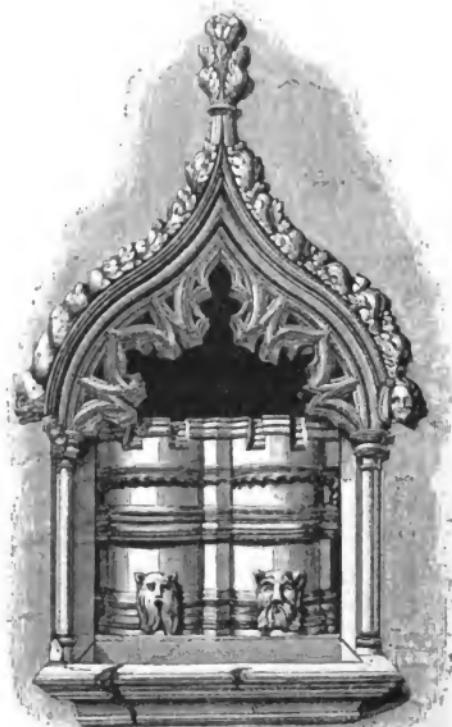
Castle, gave four bells, and other additional ornaments to the steeple."

The parish of BROMFIELD has from the earliest days, both in its manorial and ecclesiastical character, been annexed to Leeds, and though claiming to have the lordly Castle within its bounds, possesses but little of interest compared with its sister parish. *Domesday*, under the name of "Brunfelle", makes no mention of a church having existed here at that time, nor is there any clue, as in the case of Leeds, to the date of its erection. The present building can boast of but little architectural beauty, beyond a trace on the outside of the north wall, near the east end, of a very narrow Norman window, long since blocked up. The building consists of a nave and chancel without side aisles. The tower was probably added about the middle of the fifteenth century, as its western face contains a good doorway of that period, with its square label and spandrels: but now nearly obscured by a modern porch. On entering the nave, the western arch, as also that at the chancel steps, with its bold yet graceful mouldings, proclaims the work of the earlier portion of the preceding century. One feature of the shafts is worthy of notice: about a foot above the square base on which they rise is a shallow plinth, or set-off, barely an inch in depth.

Whatever there may once have been of interest or historic value in the form of brasses or gravestones in the church has disappeared under the hand of the "restorer", to give place to a pavement of modern encaustic tiles. So, too, has it fared with any stained glass, with the exception of two very small fragments of rich bordering, which have happily been preserved in the two windows in the north wall. A highly emblazoned memorial window, displaying the Wykeham and Martin arms quarterly, with the monogram P.W.M. in a scroll profusely scattered over the vacant spaces, was introduced in 1880, by the late Mrs. Wykeham Martin to the memory of her late husband, Philip Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P. for Rochester; she also built an organ-chamber and vestry on that side, and rebuilt a portion of the south wall.

On a slab on the outside wall, over the east window, it is recorded that "This Chancel was rebuilt by Mrs. Susannah Meredith, of Leeds Abbey, in the year 1749."¹

¹ In a paper on "Leeds Priory" (vol. xlix, p. 93) allusion is made to a volume known as the *Leiger-Book of Leeds Priory*, which was formerly in the possession of the Filmer family at East Sutton Park (to which both Tanner and Hasted refer), but, according to the *Historical MSS. Report*, iii, p. 246, has disappeared since their time. It may be interesting to know that though the original book appears to have been lost, there exists a small collection of manuscript extracts from it, made by some unnamed copyist, which, having formed a portion of a lot in the sale of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps' library, has found a fitting home in that of C. T. Hatfield, Esq., of Hartsdown, near Margate.



CISTERN AND LAVATORY, BATTLE HALL, LEEDS, KENT.

A NEW KELTIC GODDESS :
INTERESTING DISCOVERY AT LANCHESTER.

BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D.

(Read 3rd Jan. 1891.)

IN July last one of the finest Roman altars ever found in Great Britain was unearthed at Lanchester, in the county of Durham. Lanchester is a village with a very interesting church, about half-a-mile from the site of a large Roman station, the walls of which are still standing many feet above the ground, like the walls of the Roman stations of Reculver, Richborough, and Lymne. It is situated on the line of the great Roman Road, known as the first *Iter* of Antonine, which ran from Bremenium to Praetorium, through the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and York. The Roman station of Lanchester is situated not far from midway between Vinovia, which yielded up many of its treasures a few years ago to the archaeological enterprise and research of Mr. John Proud, of East Layton and Bishops Auckland, and Vindomora, now Ebchester, where manifest Roman remains meet one in the streets of the village at every turn. But though, as far as visible and conspicuous remains go, inferior to neither of those stations, Lanchester is not mentioned by name in the Itinerary of Antonine, doubtless because it was not a recognised halting-place for troops on the march from one garrison town to another. We know not, consequently, its Roman name, although many speculations have been indulged in with regard to it, and many arguments marshalled in support of each of the many theories respecting it that have been advanced.

The altar recently discovered was found on July 15th, by Mr. Frederick Blackmur, an official of the Lanchester Union Workhouse. It was lying on its face on a hillside in a field of the Margery Flatt Farm. It evidently had been erected in close contiguity to a spring or well. The workhouse derives its drinking-water from the immediate

neighbourhood of the spot where the altar was discovered. Indeed, it was in seeking for some supposed obstruction in the conducting pipes that the discovery was made. The altar was found to the north of the Roman station, at a distance of some few hundred yards from it, and on the side of a declivity. It is worthy of remark that the Roman station was supplied with water by watercourses, coming to it from other directions, remains of which may still be traced.

The altar is of magnificent proportions. It was fixed in a hollow foot or base, and stood in all 5 ft. 3 in. in height. It is 23½ in. broad at the head, 20 in. at the stem, and 30 in. at the base. It is 12 in., 10 in., and 17 in. thick, at the same points respectively. It has a long and perfectly legible inscription on the front, and is profusely ornamented on all sides except the back, which is plain, with devices which suggest forcibly to the mind the nailhead and other characteristic mouldings of early Norman edifices. On the sides are represented, also, usual sacrificial implements; but there are three *culti*, or knives, and instead of the *securis*, or axe, there is what I take to be a representation of the *mola salsa*, or salted cake.

The illustration accompanying this paper is from an excellent photograph taken by A. Edwards, Esq., of Blackhill.

The greatest interest, however, attaching to this noble altar centres in its inscription, which reads as follows:—

D.E. EGAR
MANGABI
ET N|||||||
|||||| AVG N PK^o
SAL. VEX. SVEH^o
RVM. L^oN. G^oR. V^o
T^oM S^oL^oV^oR^oVNT. M

The only question of decipherment concerns the diphthong in the first word. Some antiquaries who have seen the altar fail to detect more than the *A*. They make, therefore, the goddess's name begin with *G* and not *E*.

But whether the name of the goddess be *Egarmangabis*, or *Garmangabis*, it is equally absolutely new to us. It does not appear to have been ever, in these later years,



ROMAN ALTAR FOUND AT LANCHESTER.



ROMAN ALTAR FOUND AT LANCHESTER.

met with before. It naturally strikes one that it was the name given to a divinity supposed to preside over the spring close to which the altar was found ; and we are forcibly reminded of the many altars to a previously unknown goddess, COVENTINA, which were found by Mr. John Clayton, of the Chesters, Northumberland, at Carrawburgh, in that county, the ancient Procolitia, in the year 1879, also in close connection with a spring or well.

For explanation of each of these names we must have recourse, I think, to the Keltic tongue. "Coventina" seems to be connected with "Cofen", "a memorial", and was perhaps a kind of Keltic Mnemosyne ; while "Egarmangabis" seems to be "Y gár mân gab", "The friend of the small house", that is, I take it, "The friend of the poor", who perhaps dwelt on that side of the great station, and drew their supplies of water from the spring on the hillside.

The next remarkable thing, in connection with the inscription, is the erasing of the Emperor's name. Several circumstances conspire to lead us to place the making of this altar in the reign of Gordian, A.D. 238-244. We are familiar with the erasure of the names of Geta and Caracalla from public monuments throughout the Roman Empire, but why the name of the mild and just, though brave also and warlike, Gordian should be erased we are at a loss to conjecture. It has occurred to me that possibly the stone was quarried and carved while Gordian was alive, but by an accidental coincidence was not ready for erection until after news came of his death, and of the accession to the purple of his antagonist Philip, and that from motives of policy his name was then erased. The first part of the inscription then read simply :—**DEAE EGARMANGABI ET NVMINIBVS AVGVSTI NOSTRI PRO SALVTE.....** "To the goddess Egarmangabis, and to the protecting deities of our Augustus, for health and safety....."

A very interesting matter has next to be considered, viz., the personality of the dedicators. They are described in abbreviated form as :—

VEX . SVEBORVM . LON . GOR.

I take it **VEX.** represents the nominative **VEXILLARIJ,**

"the veterans", and that PRO SALVTE, which goes before these words, is used without a genitive following it. Otherwise we shall be at a loss for a nominative for the verb SOLVERVNT. But, "Vexillarii Sueborum",—this is the first time the Suebi, or Suevi, have appeared on any British monument. We read of them in Tacitus. He tells us they were the bravest and most numerous of all the peoples inhabiting ancient Germany. He says, too, that they were divided into a number of tribes, several of which he names, as, for example, the Semnones, the Longobardi, the Angli, the Hermanduri, etc. We reach now the very "crux" of this inscription. What do the syllables LON. GOR. stand for? This is not the first time they have met our eyes, or, rather, that abbreviations, presumably with the same signification, have occurred. In the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham are preserved two most interesting slabs, also from Lanchester, and from the style of the lettering, etc., evidently of the same, or very nearly the same age, with this altar. One of them reads thus, (I expand all except the last few words),—

"Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus balneum cum basilica a solo instruxit per Gneium Lucilianum Legatum Augustalem Propraetorem Curante Marco Aurelio Quirino Praefecto C^oH I L G^oR."

The other reads as follows:—

"Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus principia et armamentaria coulapsa restituit per Maecilium Fuscum Legatum Augustalem Propraetorem Curante Marco Aurelio Quirino Praefecto C^oH I L G^oR."

From this it will be seen that each of these two remarkable inscriptions has the same phrase, but in a still more abbreviated form. For I cannot think it probable, as has been suggested, that the L. in L. GOR signifies LINGONVM, and that the LON. in LON. GOR. signifies something altogether different.

Many think we have in the LON. the first syllable of the long-sought name of the Roman station of Lanchester, and that it was indeed Longovicus, or Longovicium, as so many have conjectured. But then, could there be more cohorts than one of the "Longovicarii"—

of the troops taking their name from the station ? There is, perhaps, one supposition that would admit of such a solution. Lancaster and Lanchester have names to all intents and purposes identical at the present time. Possibly they had names equally nearly related in Roman times, and the first cohort of the Longovicarii may have been at the one, and the second cohort of the similarly named troops at the other.

GOR. doubtless stands for GORDIANIANORVM, a title taken by the troops to indicate their loyalty to and affection for the Emperor. The final M, doubtless, stands for MERITO, or MERITIS ; the foot of the last letter of the word SOLVERVNT is singularly formed, so as to represent an L as well as a T, apparently with the view of indicating the remaining usual word LIBENTES.

Another explanation of the LON. is that it may stand for LONGOBARDORVM ; in which case the translation of the whole inscription would be :—"To the Goddess Egarmangabis and to the Protecting Deities of our Augustus, the Veterans of the Lombard Suebians, surnamed the Gordianian, have erected this, in due and cheerful performance of a vow."

It only remains to say that the altar is at present preserved in the porch of the church at Lanchester, and that it is sincerely to be hoped that it will not be allowed to be dissevered from its connection with the beautiful and historic district around it by being sent to some distant centre to be exhibited among a number of others of all shapes and sizes from places widely separated. Such collections are of the highest possible value, when they preserve what would otherwise be lost or destroyed ; but when public interest and intelligence are sufficiently advanced and keen to preserve such treasures in the immediate neighbourhood of the spot where they have been discovered, their value to the public from an educational and historic point of view is very greatly enhanced.

THE CIVIL WAR IN BERKSHIRE, 1642-46.

BY W. MONEY, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read during the Winchester Congress, 5th Aug. 1893.)

THE first events connected with Berkshire in the Civil War of the seventeenth century happened in October 1642. When the King had recruited his army at Oxford after the battle of Edgehill, a considerable party of cavalry was sent out from Abingdon, the headquarters of his horse, which advanced further than the order warranted, and came near to Reading. Upon the approach of the Royal forces, the notorious Colonel Henry Marten, then Parliamentary governor of the town, seized with panic, fled with the garrison to London, and left the place at the mercy of the Royalist troops. Intelligence of this success being sent to Oxford, the King was induced to march to Reading with his whole army, where he arrived on the 4th of November.

King Charles having advanced to Colnbrook, the Parliament was alarmed at the near approach of his army, while their own forces lay at a distance, and voted an address for a treaty. A negotiation was then opened by the Parliament, and several peers and commoners waited on the King with a petition, to which he returned an answer, intimating that he would reside at Windsor Castle if the Parliamentary forces stationed there should be removed, so that committees might attend him with propositions for an amicable adjustment of the differences.

It was then believed by many that if the King had retired with his army to Reading, as soon as the messenger to London with his answer, and there awaited the reply of the Parliament, they would have withdrawn their garrison from Windsor. But Prince Rupert, whose impetuosity was so frequently prejudicial to the interests of the King, on the very next morning after the return of the Commissioners to London, marched with his horse and dragoons to Hounslow, and placed himself in that situation that the King was necessitated to march to his

relief, and an action taking place at Brentford, the King was grievously accused of treachery, in having recourse to hostilities while a treaty was proceeding; thus all pacific measures were dropped.

The King then marched to Kingston in Surrey, and thence back to Reading. He there received what he considered to be an insolent petition from the Parliament, who, being dissatisfied with the answer, ordered the Earl of Essex to march to Windsor, to be nearer the Royal forces.

Perceiving that no real disposition to peace existed, the King, after drawing a line about Reading, which he resolved to keep as a garrison, left Sir Arthur Aston governor there, with more than 2,000 foot and a regiment of horse, and with the rest of his army marched to Oxford, which city he re-entered on 29th November 1642. At the same time a strong garrison was established at Wallingford, under the command of Colonel Blagge, another at Brill in Buckinghamshire, and a third at Banbury. By this arrangement the King had all Oxfordshire and all Berkshire, excepting the division about Windsor.

In the spring of 1643, the negotiations at Oxford for a treaty having failed, the Earl of Essex marched from Windsor on the 15th of April, the very day on which the peace propositions expired, and laid siege to Reading with an army of 16,000 foot and above 3,000 horse, well equipped and arrayed.

The fortifications of the town were not sufficient to withstand a regular siege, being only adapted to secure winter quarters. Within a week after the commencement of the siege, Sir Arthur Aston, being in the court of guard nearest the enemy's lines, a cannon-shot alighting on the roof of it, which was covered with tiles, a piece of tile struck him on the head, by which he was utterly incapacitated from further duties. The command then devolved on Colonel Richard Feilding, who, after a siege of ten days, on the 27th April surrendered the town upon articles, that the garrison might march out with all the honours of war, and have free passage to Oxford. Colonel Feilding was afterwards tried by a council of war for his surrender, and condemned to death, but

the sentence was remitted after much intercession, although his regiment was taken away and he was never restored to any command. He, however, served as a volunteer with great spirit and courage at Newbury and other subsequent engagements.

In September 1643, after the siege of Gloucester was raised, and Essex was marching through Wiltshire on his return to London, Prince Rupert, hearing of the surprise of Cirencester, immediately projected a movement with a strong body of cavalry to march across country and overtake Essex, while the King with the infantry pushed on by forced marches towards Newbury, to which place he had been informed by Rupert the Parliamentary general was on his way. The march of the enemy being thus delayed by this smartly executed manœuvre, the King had time to come up with the infantry; and when Essex, on the following day, advanced from Hungerford to Newbury, he found to his dismay the King possessed of the latter town and its approaches.

To the Royalist cause the town of Newbury was a place of great military value. Situated on one of the most ancient and important passages of the Kennet, it was, as now, a place of considerable strategical importance. If occupied by the enemy, it menaced the main roads leading from the west by Reading to London; and for the Royal army, based as it was on Oxford, its possession enabled them to intercept any movement that might be attempted in the Kennet Valley, while their own line of retreat was completely covered. In addition to this, Donnington Castle, an ancient fortress, the strength of which had been enormously increased by the construction of field-works of a good trace and profile, further protected a retrograde movement if it became necessary, and acted, so to speak, as an advanced fort on this side of the Thames.

Like many other places engaged in the staple manufacture of England—woollen cloth—the town of Newbury warmly espoused the cause of Parliament; and no sooner did the townspeople hear of the expected arrival of Essex than they made every endeavour to furnish adequate supplies of food for his starving troops, after their long

and trying march from Gloucester. These preparations were, however, equally acceptable to the wearied troops of the King, who had done the same distance, but under more favourable conditions.

Meanwhile Essex drew his army into the low-lying fields near Euborne ; his left flank having the protection of the woods at Hampstead and of the Kennet river, and his right rested on the little river En, or, as it is termed in ancient documents, the Aleburn river.

Military criticism on Essex's difficulties seems almost unnecessary. It is evident that to pass by the hostile force without offering battle, exposed the Earl to three dangers: an attack on his left flank as he passed, an assault on his rear after he *had* passed, and the possible capture of his baggage, which would move by the best road and in rear of his columns. The first danger would lead to his defeat in detail, for the left wing would have had to stand the attack of the whole of the King's army, perhaps before the right wing would come to its assistance, thus breaking through the elementary principle of never offering your divided fractions to the blows of a vastly superior force. The second might have been even more disastrous, as the forces not arrayed in battle order and marching along several roads might have been both crushed and routed. The last danger was all-important, for without supplies of ammunition, let alone food, large bodies of troops must either spread for forage and provision, and become disorganised and scattered, or remain concentrated and starve.

So it was that Essex, drawing up his forces between the Kennet and the En rivers, resolved to cut his way through the army of the King should it attempt to bar his way to London.

The King's forces, under his own personal command, consisted of about 10,000 men of the three arms—horse, foot, and artillery—and that of his opponent Essex may be computed at about 8,000 of all ranks.

On the next day, 29th September 1643, was fought the first battle of Newbury, which, like that of Edgehill, was followed by no decided advantage to either party. The Parliamentarians loudly claimed the victory; and not without reason, for the Royalists allowed them to march forward the next day from the field of battle to Reading,

en route to London, unmolested. This point must be clearly kept in view. The destruction of the King's army, and the pursuit that should always follow a victory in order to reap the full results of the success, were not necessary here, even if practicable. Essex wanted the right of way to London, and he obtained it; though the King's army still held Newbury, it had definitely been driven back into the town. The pursuit effected by Rupert the next morning, and the unsuccessful attack on Essex's rear, though it produced some disorder in his ranks and impeded his march, gave but little advantage to the Royalists, and cannot be taken as a proof that the King could claim to have won the hard-fought field.

The eminent historian of the Civil War¹ does not admit that this was a victory for the Parliamentary forces. Doubtless, in the final exhaustion of both armies when the battle ceased, the Royalists still barred the way to London, though to a far less degree than when the morning of the 20th September dawned. The whole result of the day must be taken into consideration in assessing the crown of victory. There is the strongest circumstantial and presumptive evidence that the King's troops, when rested, abandoned the actual battle-field to their antagonists. Such a course has always been deemed decisive as far as any particular contest goes. A renewal of the fight would have compelled the King to make a frontal attack against a victorious, or at least not unsuccessful army, holding the high ground above the town known as The Wash, and which was so posted as to threaten, in flank, such an attempt.

That such an attack was never even contemplated is proved by the speedy retreat of the King's troops to get the shelter, not of Newbury, but of the river Kennet.

Again, Essex, by the possession of the battle-field, had opened his way to London, if he had thought well to have pursued it after the severe action. If, too, the King's forces had not the worst of the encounter, why did they allow Essex to march off the next morning with bravado, and without the loss of a single gun? The Parliamentary commander was in a wretched plight throughout this engagement, and although the organisation of the King's

¹ *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, by S. R. Gardiner, M.A.

army was most inferior to that of the other side, Essex is entitled, under the adverse circumstances of his position, to the highest credit for his tactical skill and tenacity of purpose.

After Essex had left Reading the town was again garrisoned for the King, with a force of 3,000 foot and 500 horse, under Sir Jacob Astley as governor.

The King then returned to Oxford, having first strengthened the garrison at Donnington Castle, under Colonel John Boys, to command the great western road to London.

On the 10th April 1644, the King with his own troop took up his quarters for one night at Childrey, and on the 17th, attended by the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, brought the Queen to Abingdon.

In the month of May the Royal army removed from Marlborough to Newbury, where it remained nearly a month, that it might be in readiness to assist the governors of Reading or Wallingford. Thence the King marched to Reading, and having dismantled the fortifications, returned to Oxford, and on the following day Essex sent a party from Windsor to occupy the town.

When the King left Reading, the horse were quartered about Wantage and Faringdon, and the infantry were placed in Abingdon. On the advance of Essex upon Abingdon, the King's general, Wilmot, marched out of the town, 4,000 cavalry having come up by night from Faringdon to assist the retreat, without the knowledge and much to the mortification of the King, whose intention had been, if the enemy approached on the east side of the town, where the river was, to maintain and defend it. Before, however, this unfortunate manœuvre could be countermanded, the troops were in sight of Oxford. Abingdon being thus deserted, Essex occupied it the same night with all his infantry, the horse being quartered in the neighbourhood. At the same time Sir William Waller had his headquarters at Wantage, so that the Parliamentary forces became possessed of Reading, Abingdon, Newbury, and all Berkshire, except Wallingford, Faringdon, and Donnington Castle, without striking a single blow.

The garrison at Abingdon being within such easy reach of the King's headquarters at Oxford, was sorely troubled by the frequent attacks of the Royal army. On the 29th May 1644, an unsuccessful attempt was made by a party of horse from Oxford, under the Earl of Cleveland, to recover Abingdon from Waller's forces, which then occupied it ; Essex having crossed the river, and being engaged with the King's troops on the Oxfordshire side, leaving as governor of Abingdon General Browne, one of the most skilful of the Parliament's officers. Meanwhile, 1,000 foot and 400 horse of Waller's army entered Abingdon and did much injury to the town, including the destruction of the beautiful cross, which then stood in the market-place.

Towards the end of May Oxford was almost entirely invested, when the King, by a skilful manœuvre, saved both his army and the city. In order to facilitate his escape, he despatched a party of horse and foot towards Abingdon, and on 3rd June left Oxford, unperceived, between the two hostile camps ; leading Waller a most bootless chase of seventeen days into Worcestershire, and back again to Oxford.

Waller having been routed by the Royalists at Cro-predy Bridge, 29th June, and finding his army gradually melting away by desertion, sent his lieut.-general, Middleton, with 3,000 horse, to follow the King, and on his way, to reduce Donnington Castle, in which were some of the Royal troops. He found it, however, so well defended by Colonel Boys, that, after the loss of a hundred or more men and several officers in attempting to take it, he recommended it to the governor of Abingdon, General Browne, to prosecute the siege, and himself marched on. In August 1644, a strong attack was made by the Royalists on Abingdon, when Colonel John Denton was killed. After ineffectually blockading Donnington Castle for some time, Colonel Horton, Browne's adjutant, determined to besiege it more closely, and on 29th September raised a battery at the foot of the hill next to Newbury, whence in nineteen days upwards of a thousand large shot were spent against its walls without being able to reduce it. The Earl of Manchester came with his troops to the siege, but on the approach of

the King, who had resolved on relieving the Castle, the besiegers all marched away.

About this time, the garrison of Basing having been closely besieged for about three months, it was decided by the council at Oxford to send some troops to their relief. The expedition was full of danger, but it was successfully executed by Colonel Gage, a courageous and experienced officer. He marched out of Oxford in the middle of the night with a party of 400 musqueters and 250 horse, and reached by morning Cholsey Wood, near Wallingford, where he received a reinforcement from that garrison of 80 horse and the same number of foot, and despatched a messenger to Sir William Ogle, governor of Winchester Castle, who had engaged to assist, to commence an attack on the besiegers. Thence the party marched through by-lanes to Aldermaston, where they intended to halt a little time, but were discovered by some Parliamentary horse, and compelled to proceed more expeditiously. Being disappointed of the succour from Winchester, they were compelled to act alone. However, they beat off the enemy, gained a free entrance into Basing House, spent three days in putting stores therein, and then prepared to retreat to Oxford. Attended by a skilful guide, they passed the Kennet by a ford a little more than a mile from Reading, and, fording the Thames near Pangbourne, arrived in the evening at Oxford, having only lost two captains and others to the number of eleven, besides forty or fifty men slightly wounded.

After the defeat of Essex in Cornwall, the King determined to close the campaign, and return without delay to winter quarters at Oxford ; but the Parliament did not mean to allow him to do this without opposition.

When the King arrived at Newbury, intelligence having been brought to him of the exhausted condition of the garrison at Banbury, he despatched the Earl of Northampton, with three regiments of horse, to endeavour to raise the siege. The Parliament being apprised of this by the treachery of a renegade Scotch colonel named Hurry, or Urry, sent the forces which had been under Essex and Waller, together with Manchester's army, amounting to about 19,000 men, against the King, who, at Newbury, was awaiting the Earl of Northampton's

return from Banbury. Prince Rupert was at this time engaged in getting together the Welsh and northern reinforcements, whose expected junction had so long detained the Prince in the west, and deprived the King of his expected assistance at Newbury.

On the 25th October the enemy had arrived at Thatcham, a village three miles east of Newbury, before the King, whose force did not exceed 10,000 men, was apprised of their approach, when it was too late to retreat, and was compelled to fight, contrary to his promise and inclination—having arranged with Prince Rupert, when he left him for Bristol, that he would not engage until he returned with the reinforcements of Langdale's and Gerrard's troops. He did not, however, venture to risk an action in the open field, but took up a strong defensive position between the rivers Kennet and the Lambourn. On the north the town was protected by the swift-flowing Kennet; on the north-east troops were quartered in the village of Shaw, and in Shaw House, the residence of Sir Thomas Dolman, which obtained celebrity as the scene of the deadliest struggle in the ensuing fight. On the west, Prince Maurice, with his brigade of Cornish horse, and two brigades of foot and artillery, was posted at Speen Hill. A little further westward the King's left wing, with five guns, was posted, their front protected by a breastwork. In the two large fields lying north of Newbury, between the Kennet and the Lambourn, was stationed the main body of horse, together with a train of artillery.

The Parliamentary generals established their camp on the elevated table-land above Shaw, to the north-east of Newbury—a most advantageous post, and which enabled them to observe the whole position occupied by the Royalists.

For two days various skirmishes occurred, in which the Parliament men were beaten off. On the 27th October the great conflict took place.

These important fights at Speen and Shaw constituted the last important action between the two parties at Newbury. Whatever the ultimate results may have been, at first each army seems to have fancied itself worsted. The Parliamentarians had been repulsed at

Shaw ; but their right wing at Speen had been entirely successful. The King, having utterly lost his left position, and unaware that at Shaw, owing largely to the indecision and incapacity of Manchester, that the tide had turned in his favour, despaired of the poor chance that remained to him in the face of such a foe. Hence at nightfall he retired with his regiment of guards, into the fields of Donnington Castle, where they held a council of war, the result of which was a retreat of the troops to Oxford, which, under Prince Maurice, was accomplished without hindrance ; the King himself, with his immediate attendants and a squadron of life-guards, making good his escape to Bath, where he joined Prince Rupert.

When the King's army was fairly gone the Parliament forces took possession of Newbury, and, drawing up their army before Donnington Castle, summoned the indomitable governor to surrender. This summons being disregarded, they assaulted the Castle, but were repulsed, and did not again repeat the attempt.

Here the quarrel between Manchester and Cromwell began, which resulted in the charge brought by Cromwell against the Earl—the Self-Denying Ordinance—and the remodelling of the army.

In the midst of the quarrels between the Parliamentary generals the King appeared once more within sight of Newbury, with the full strength of his army, amounting to 6,000 foot and 5,000 horse, and succeeded without opposition in relieving Donnington Castle and retrieving his artillery, which he had left there after the late action.

The next morning the King marched with his cannon and ammunition over the heath from Donnington Castle to Lambourn. He remained there that night and the following day to refresh his men. Thence he marched to Marlborough, and wishing to relieve Basing House, which was again much pressed, he marched back to Hungerford, whence Colonel, now Sir Henry, Gage was again despatched, who easily delivered his provisions, the enemy having quitted the siege the previous day. The King then marched to Faringdon, hoping to here surprise Abingdon on his way ; but finding it too well defended, he

passed on to Oxford, which city he reached on the 23rd November 1644.

No sooner had the King left Faringdon than Prince Rupert, with a party of horse, made a determined attack on the garrison at Abingdon; but the vigilant governor Browne was not to be easily caught, and the Prince, having lost several of his men, was glad to get back again to Faringdon with so "little hurt".

Sir Arthur Aston, the governor of Oxford, being disabled by a fall in riding, which broke his leg, rendering amputation necessary, the King appointed Sir Henry Gage to succeed him. This admirable officer only enjoyed his government for a few weeks, for, making an attempt to break down Culham Bridge, near Abingdon, where he intended to erect a royal fort to keep the garrison for that part of the country, a musket-bullet struck him, and he fell from his horse mortally wounded, 11th January 1645.

Early in the year 1645 the Parliament passed the Self-Denying Ordinance, when Essex, Manchester, Waller, and others simplified matters by resigning their several military commands. Cromwell's first exploit after the passing of the celebrated measure was to make a rapid march across Berkshire, at the head of a strong cavalry force, into Oxfordshire, to intercept communications between Prince Rupert and the King. In four days, before any other corps of the new army had put itself in motion, he had beaten the Royalists in three encounters, and sent to Parliament a full report of his success. He then visited Faringdon, and made an assault upon the garrison, which, under Colonel Sir George Lisle, held Sir Robert Pye's house there for the King, but was repulsed with considerable loss. This unsuccessful attack is thus not very elegantly versified in Henry Ward's *History of the Grand Rebellion*, published in 1713:—

"Whilst Cromwell, flush'd with his success, march'd on
To Faringdon, another garrison
Which he by storm attempted, but in vain,
Losing in the assault two hundred men,
Many besides b'ing wounded in the fierce
Attack, and sev'ral taken prisoners,
Which in some measure tarnish'd his success,
And made his former vict'ry seem the less."

On the 30th April 1645, the new model army, under Fairfax, consisting of 21,000 men, marched from Windsor to Reading, and on the 2nd May quartered in Newbury, where a meeting took place between the general and Cromwell.

From Newbury Fairfax marched, on 3rd May, to the relief of Taunton, which was closely invested by the Royalists, but stoutly held by Blake; but on 6th May Fairfax received orders to send a detachment to relieve Taunton, and retrace his steps with the main body to besiege Oxford, which returned to Newbury on the 14th May. Here Fairfax remained three days to refresh his men and arrange his plans. The day following his entry into Newbury, he "faced" Donnington Castle with a portion of his troops, and took ten officers and other prisoners. This, however, appears to have been little more than a mere exhibition of force; and on the 17th the "new model" proceeded from Newbury to Blewbury, and encamped on the downs two nights; thence Fairfax advanced to the siege of Oxford and Naseby fight.

Late in October 1645, Cromwell and Colonel Dalbier were near Newbury after the storming of Basing. The Parliament had ordered that Donnington Castle should be taken, and it was determined to set about the siege in earnest. Instructions were accordingly sent to the committees of the three counties of Oxford, Berks, and Bucks, to join their several forces for this purpose, and Colonels Dalbier and Marten were entrusted with the investment of the Castle, which was effected in November. Cromwell seems to have considered the chances of assault, and to have concluded against it, for he continued his onward march into Devonshire, to join Fairfax, without attempting any operations against the garrison.

In January 1645-6, Reading was again garrisoned for the Parliament, and orders issued for martial law on the 19th.

On the 2nd March 1645-6, the last attack on Abingdon by the Royalists from Oxford was made, by a party under Sir Stephen Hawkins, which was unsuccessful. In this, as on the previous attempt, the defenders put every Irish prisoner to death; hence the expression, "Abingdon Law."

Donnington Castle, which had been almost battered down by the Parliamentary artillery, but bravely defended by the governor, Sir John Boys, was, on instructions from the King, surrendered to Colonel Dalbier on the 30th March 1646 ; the garrison being allowed by the articles of surrender to march out of the Castle with drums beating, colours flying, and all the honours of war.

In June 1646, another unsuccessful attack was made on the Royalist garrison at Faringdon, by a party under the command of Sir Robert Pye, who led the assault on his own house. It was during this attack that Faringdon Church spire was beaten down by the artillery of the assailants. The damage done to the town during these operations, chiefly by the houses being fired, appears to have been enormous, considering that the amount specified, £56,976 4s., in the petition in the Commons' Journal, is probably represented by three times that sum according to the present value of money.

On 20th June, Faringdon, included in the "Oxford Articles", surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and on 27th July the same officer received the surrender of Wallingford Castle from Colonel Blagge, when the Parliament became masters of the whole country ; and this virtually brought to a close what is known as "The First Civil War".

None of the Berkshire families appear to have distinguished themselves particularly on either side during the war. The county generally was favourable to the Parliament, particularly the towns, where a strong Presbyterian element prevailed. At the same time, that a large number of the principal inhabitants sided with their King and their religion against anarchy and fanaticism, is evident by the list of those who compounded for their estates, which had been sequestrated by the Parliamentary commissioners.

On the Royalist roll we find the names of Bacon of Blewbury ; Baily of Newbury ; Barksdale of Newbury ; Blagrave (Walter) of Tilehurst ; Blagrave (Col.), Watchfield ; Browne of Shefford ; Craven of Hampstead-Marshal ; Choke of Avington ; Cox of Newbury ; Davis, Bere Court ; Danceastle of Wellhouse, and other places ;

Dolman (Sir Thomas), Shaw; Eyston of Hendred and Catmere; Englefield of Englefield and Whiteknights; Fettiplace of Childrey; Forster of Aldermaston; Garrard of Lambourn and Shinfield; Harrison of Hurst; Henn of Folly-John Park; Hildesley of Beenham; Havergill of Windsor; Hyde of Kingston Lisle; Kennington, Shinfield, and Pangbourne; Herbert of Bray; Lovelace of Hurley; Milton of Reading (brother to the great poet, John Milton); Moore of Fawley; Mason of Hidden; Neville of Billingbere; Perkins of Ufton Court; Peacock of Cumnor; Pigott of Marcham; Pratt of Coleshill, Pococke of Chieveley; Sawyer of White Waltham; Strode of Shefford; Stafford of Bradfield; Stonhouse of Radley; Wray of Wytham; Winchcombe of Bucklebury; Yate of Lyford.

This list must not, however, be supposed to contain the names of all those who suffered for loyalty, as many are not recorded therein who only escaped composition by ruinous means. It will be observed that certain families in this, as in other counties, were divided in their allegiance to King and Parliament.

On the side of the Parliament we find the following:— Blagrave of Southcote; Dolman (Humfrey), Shaw; Dunch of Pusey and Wittenham; Fettiplace of Fernham; Hoby of Bisham; Holland, M.P. for Windsor; Knight of Greenham; Knollys of Reading; Lenthall of Besilsleigh; Marten of Longworth; Packer, Donnington Castle and Shellingford; Pile of Compton-Beauchamp; Powle of Shottesbroke; Purefoy of Wadley, Pye of Faringdon; Rudyerd of West Woodhay; Southby of Carswell; Vachell of Coley; Wightwick of Marlston.

Of the suffering clergy during the usurpation were:— Joseph Barnes, rector of East Ilsley; Thomas Bunbury, vicar of St. Mary's, Reading; Guy Carleton, vicar of Bucklebury; William Cousins, vicar of Shinfield; Anthony Farington, B.D., vicar of Bray; Godfrey Goodman, D.D., rector of West Ilsley; Joseph Hill, rector of Hinton; Dr. Hyde, rector of Brightwell; Thomas Lawrence, rector of Chilton; Joseph Nixon, rector of Great Shefford; Richard Nixon, vicar of Chieveley; Shaler, vicar of Little Coxwell; George Wilde, LL.D., vicar of St. Giles's, Reading; Thomas

Worral, rector of Wasing and vicar of Brimpton ; Wright, vicar of Buckland ; the rectors of Bradfield and Enborne, and the vicar of Hampstead-Norris.

The above-mentioned were all dispossessed, while others, though harassed and threatened, were not wholly deprived of their livings.

Two regicides were natives of this county—the profligate Henry Marten, who ended his days at Chepstow Castle, and Daniel Blagrave, who died at Aix-la-Chapelle after the Revolution.

THE "BLACK BOOK" OF SOUTHAMPTON.

BY THE REV. R. H. CLUTTERBUCK, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read 4th August 1893.)

THE Corporation of Southampton has a very large and important collection of muniments. There are no less than five hundred and four manuscript books, fifty-eight charters and letters patent, besides an immense number of separate writings. These have been examined and reported on by Mr. John Cordy Jeaffreson for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, his report forming Part III of the Appendix of the Eleventh Report.

The two books of which I propose to speak are known as the *Oak Book* and the *Black Book*.

The "Oak Book" contains sixty vellum leaves "clog covered", or bound in stout boards of oak, one of which is longer than the other, and has a hole in the lower part to put the hand through when using the volume. Two merchants' marks are cut on the cover.

This book was described in the Winchester volume of the *Journal* of your Society, with a drawing of the cover, by the late Frederick Fairholt, Esq., F.S.A.

The book is written by different hands, but may safely be described as dating from the earlier part of the fourteenth century. It contains a version of the Ordinances of the Gild Merchants which has already been printed by your Society.

It has an imperfect list of towns having charters of incorporation, giving the dates of the charters. Amongst these towns London is specified as having a charter of William (the Conqueror), confirmed by King Henry, but not dated. There is little room for doubt that this charter is that of Henry I, which grants the Londoners freedom of toll and passage throughout England and the ports of the sea. And there is a strong probability that the

charters mentioned are set down to enable the ruling body of Southampton to know what towns were possessed of that privilege.

The "Oak Book" also contains the assize of bread, not in the tabulated form in which Andover, Hull, and some other towns possess it, but extended, and occupying twenty-two pages.

It will be remembered that in the time of the Plantagenets the *price* of the loaf remained stationary, while the *weight* varied;—the reverse of our own system, under which the statutory weight remains fixed, while the price varies. These long and elaborate tables shown in £. s. and d. the *weight* of Cocket, Symnell, and French loaves as regulated by the shifting price of corn.

The "Oak Book" has also copies of charters and legal decisions, and a most interesting copy of letters patent, 29 Edward III, empowering the burgesses to levy an import duty of a penny in the pound for completing the enclosure of the town. A list of customs chargeable is given on page xx.

The *Black Book* derives its name from the colour of its flexible leather cover. It may be described as the chief book of important memoranda possessed by the town. To have deeds, agreements, and conveyances engrossed in this book was for a century and a half prized as the greatest available security. Its contents may therefore be described as matters which, either for the town itself or to individual townsfolk, it was important to have authentic record of. The volume contains 144 leaves of unusually thick paper, of which the last 32 are all blank, and there are many blanks besides. The folios are numbered on one side only, and after xc Arabic numerals are used. Entries were made in the book wherever a convenient space presented itself, without any reference to chronological arrangement.

An indication of the value in which this book was held occurs on folio xljj:

"And this act to be enroll... in the blakke booke, and so to be executid for ever.

"To which act and ordinaunce the sayd mayr and aldermen, Sheryve and discreets the xij Juratts, with divers othir burgesses, haue sett ther signemanuell the day and yer aboue wretyn.

"Be it ferther enacted that the blacke book be all weyes kept vnder ij lokys." 1505.

As an instance of what has been said, may be mentioned two charters granted to Andover, of which that town itself has no copy, conferring on its men the right of free passage, toll, and custom, occurring on folio xj.b. The first is of Henry II, but not dated :

"Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou : to all his justices, sheriffs, and all his ministers, French and English, greeting. Know ye that I have granted to the men of Andever that they may have a Gild of Merchants in Andever. That they be quit of toll, passage and custom throughout my whole realm, as the Burgesses of Winchester, who are of the Gild of Merchants, are quit. And upon this let no one unjustly disturb them for custom, on forfeiture of ten pounds.

"Witness, William, son of Adelm, Dapifer ; John de Sarum ; Sihere de Quinci ; Ralph, son of Stephen ; William de Bending. At Winchester."

The other is by Richard I :

"Richard, by the Grace of God, &c. Know ye that we have granted to the men of Andever, that they may have a Gild of Merchants in Andever, and that they be quit of toll, passage and custom throughout our whole realm, as the Burgesses of Winchester, who are of the Gild of Merchants, are quit. And upon this let no one disturb them for custom, upon forfeiture of ten pounds, as the Lord King Henry, our father, granted and confirmed to them by his charter.

"Witness, H. Archbishop of Canterbury ; William Marshall ; Geoffrey, son of Peter ; William of St. Mary's Church ; Hugh Baradolfe ; William Briwere.

"Given by the hand of William Bishop of Ely, our Chancellor, at Portsmouth, the fifth year of our reign, the 29th day of April."

On folio 109 is :

"A notte of all such and other writtings, wth such bookeſ of Statutes and other bookeſ as Richard Godderd, Late maior of the towne of Suthampton, Leſte in the Audit house at the tyme of his going out of his maioraltie, p'ticularly followith :

"These p'sells following arre remayning in the yron bounde cof- fer vnder the windowe, where the charters commonly y'eth.

"Imprimis a charter of the Exemplification of the Towne ac- comptes granted from Henry the Second to Henry the Seventh, dated the x^o daye of April A^o tercii.

"A graunt of h. the second in the ixth yeare of his reigne, for the certefing what customs wer payed before the towne was Incorporate.

"A Exemplificacon of an acte of parliament made for maulmises in the fyrist yeare of the Reigne of Queen Elizabeth.

"A graunt made when the town walls was a building, for 1d. of the pounde, in the tyme of King E. 39.

"A recursacon agaynst Lymyngton, dated the xijth of november in the second yere of King henry the third.

"A charter for maulmestis in the first & second yeare of philip & mary.

"A confirmacon for maulmestys, dated the xij of march in the first yeare of the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth.

"A charter made by King Henry, dated the xiiiijth of July in the xij yeare of his reyne.

"A charter made the xij of february in the second yeare of the reyne of King Henry.

"The fyrist grannte made for malmistes to be discharged at Suthampton, dated the xvij daye of June in the fowerth and fyveth year of King Phillip & quene Mary.

"A charter for the wayres & strayes & felons goodes, graunted in the xxth yere of King Edward the fourth.

"A charter for goodes sold between Stranger and Stranger to be forfeit, graunted in the xxijth yere of h.

"A charter for gaging, peysing, weing & butlerndge, and for the release of the fortie markes w^{ch} was due to the King, graunted in the xxijth yere of h. the viijth.

"A graunte for the fayer in the xith year of King henrye.

"A charter for the release of the cxl marks released during tenne yeares, & that the maier, bayllys and burgesses maye purchase lands to the value of c poundes, datid the xij of February in the second yeare of K. henry.

"A charter made in King John's tyme, in the fyrist yeare of his reigne, that the burgeses shall be free from customs, passage and portage throughout the King's domynions. Dated the xxv of June.

"A charter made in the iiijth yere of King Edward the iiiijth, dated the xijth of November.

"A charter renewid in King Edwardes tyme, in the viij yeare of his reigne, being E. vijth, dated vijth of April.

"A graunte made in King Edward the vij. tyme, dated the iiiij of June, in the vijth yeare of his reygne, for the erecting of the free scholle.

"A commission graunted to John crooke and William Staveley, alderman, for marlinses, in the xijth yere of Queen Elizabeth, dated the xixth of November.

"A charter of philippe and marye, of Exempliphicacon, datid the xvij of June in the forthe and fyveth year of theyr reygnes, being in the custodie of the towne clerk."

Note in the margin.—“A space for xxv charters yt Mr Woorden hath.”

Two half-pages blank.

“Item a fyniall concorde & agreement made betwene the bnrgeasis of Suthampton of the one p'tie & nicholas of ferlie of the other p'tie, for the comon of the same towne, in the xij year of the reigne of King henry the sonne of K. John.

“Item two Inspections of the saide concorde touching the said comon, being bothe of one date, made and taken by one henry Bourgclere, Earle of Essex, Jnstice of an over, datid the viij day of februarie in the vij yeare of the reigne of K. Edward the iiij.

“Item a final concorde made betwene the pryor of St. Deanyes & the maior and coinnalite of Suthampton, that all the tennantes of portiswood shall make apparaane ons or twist in the yeare at the Lawe daye. Dated the feast of St. John in the xixth yeare of Richard the seconde after the conquest.

“A bundell of pardons from divers of the Kings & Queens of Englonde.

“A graunte for the fryers to have a corness to the conduite in the vth year of the reigne of K. Richarde.”

On folios 104-6 is a very quaint entry of

“The sainges of the Aytchiant olde men which hath byne of the towne of Suthampton concerning the Comons of the said towne of Suthampton, followith. Examined in a^o 1549.”

The sign manual of Henry VII, “given under our signet at our manor of Sheen”, 18 March 1496, is on a paper tacked on to the leaf, folio lxvi. The purpose of the mandate was to establish a treaty of commerce with the Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgoyne.

Many wills are copied into the “Black Book”, chiefly such as contain bequests affecting the town, or obiits to be maintained from which the townsmen would derive benefit.

The largest number of documents, however, are quit-claims and conveyances of land, which having been executed in the Mayor's court, were for greater security sealed with the Mayor's seal in addition to the seal of the contracting parties. There are so many of these, and the references in them to the buildings and inhabitants of the streets are so numerous, that it would be hardly a difficult matter to compile a directory of the town in (say) the time of Henry IV, and we could from this class of document certainly name the most conspicuous of the

townsmen who assembled to see the departure of Henry V through the west gate for the field of Agincourt.

An abridged translation of one of these is here given.

"Court held Tuesday next after the feast of St. Ann, 16 Richard II,
before John flête, then Baliff there.

"Richard Hake and Constance his wife, of Southampton, brought before the said Baliff, etc., a charter of enfranchisement, viz.: We, Richard Hake and Constance my wife, grant to Richard Bradwey, burgess of the same town, one croft of arable land lying in the suburbs of the town, in the parish of St. Mary, on the north side of East Street, between the messuages of Nicholas Chapman on the east, and land of John Polymond on the west, the King's highway on the south, and land of John Pukbrok on the north. To have and to hold to the said Richard Bradwey for ever.

"Warranty against all men. Mayor's seal attached. Witnesses: John Polymond then Mayor, John Illeto then baliff; Nicholas Langstoke, John Skarlet, Philip Cake, John Borard, and others.

"At Southampton, 29 July, 16 Richard II, Constance examined, swears it to be her own free act and deed; and it is enrolled according to the custom of the town."

In a word, we may compare the "Black Book" to a miniature Record Office for Southampton. Extending from the 16th of Richard II to the 12th of Elizabeth, 1392 to 1569, it embodies an amount of historical facts which can hardly be over-valued. And all to whom the history of their country is a matter of consideration owe a deep debt of gratitude to the grand old town of Southampton for the care with which they preserve this and all their documents.

ON SOME
 PREHISTORIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS FOUND
 ON THE SOUTH DOWNS,
 NEAR CHICHESTER.

BY MR. W. HAYDEN.

(Read at the Winchester Congress.)

It was very kind of your Secretary to invite me, a stranger, to read a paper at this, the jubilee meeting of your Association.

As the time allowed for the reading of papers is limited, I will dispense with any superfluous introductory matter, and go direct to my subject.

In July 1853 the Archæological Institute held its Annual Meeting at Chichester, of which place I am a native, and I well remember being sent to Bow Hill by my master (the late Mr. J. Butler, architect), either with some instructions to his men (then employed in excavating the tumuli situate on the crest of the hill), or, what is more likely, to take the men their wages—the work of excavation, I should say, being carried out under the directions of the Institute.

Bow Hill is about six miles to the north of Chichester, and two of the tumuli are conspicuous objects from a considerable distance; the other two (there are four in all) being much dilapidated, are not very noticeable. These tumuli are known as the “Devil’s Humps”.

I made a plan of the tumulus which was opened on my visit, and I have brought it with me in order that you may see it.

The excavations did not result in the discovery of many objects of antiquarian interest, but an account of what was found appears in the Transactions of the meeting at page 51.

I may mention that on the southern side of the hill is “Kingley Bottom”, or “Kingley Vale”, as it is now generally called. It is celebrated for its grove of ancient yews, which Dr. Brewer, in his *Dictionary of Phrase and*

Fable, says "were standing when the sea-kings landed on the Sussex coast"; they are certainly of great age, as their present appearance sufficiently testifies.

At the time I have alluded to the study of flint instruments was, like your Association, in its infancy; for none seem to have been found by those who superintended the excavations. In fact, I think that, except the more elaborate examples—viz., those specimens produced by the expenditure of much time and labour, by a great number of chippings, or by grinding and polishing—the ruder forms, those resulting from a few minutes' labour, by a few skilful blows of a rude hammer, were almost, if not entirely, overlooked. But this was forty years ago, and considerable advances have been made in the knowledge of most subjects, not excepting flint implements.

Sir John Lubbock divides the ancient flint or stone implements into two classes, the palæolithic, and the neolithic, or those belonging to the older Stone Age, and those belonging to the newer Stone Age. The specimens that I have collected would all be classed as neolithic.

I am inclined to think, however, that this classification is somewhat artificial, and that we are to be guided, in regard to the relative ages of these stone implements, chiefly by the elevation of the locality at which they are found above the sea-level, whether they are found in caves or on the surface.

With my specimens I have often found small fragments of ancient pottery; these, the evidences of the existence of prehistoric man, practically defy the disintegrating effects of time and meteorological influences.

The crest of Bow Hill, where the tumuli are situate, is, according to the Ordnance Survey, 667 ft. above the sea-level, and the lowest elevation in Kingley Bottom, immediately to the south, is 223 ft., and it is on the chalk, between elevations of these extremes, that my specimens have been found.

At the foot of the chalk hills the gravel commences, and the slope to the sea at Selsey Bill is gradual, a distance of about eleven miles. A little to the west of the Bill is Bracklesham, where some remains of the mammoth were found several years ago, which remains

are now in the Chichester Museum. I mention this because the soil on the chalk hills is so scanty that it is doubtful whether fossil remains of the large extinct animals could be concealed in it ; and it seems to me that the absence of such remains from localities where surface-stone implements are found, is not to be regarded as conclusive evidence that at least some of these implements may not be as old as those assigned to the palaeolithic period. I have here a section of the district, running north and south, which I have made from the Ordnance Survey Maps ; an inspection of it will perhaps give you a better idea of the contour of the country than my description.

It is in the neighbourhood of Bow Hill that I have found a considerable number of the ruder types of flint implements. Flint implements, or flakes, lay sometimes on the surface of the ground, but are generally buried in the scanty soil, and are frequently brought to light by burrowing animals—the rabbit and the mole, particularly the latter, as he only works just below the surface ; and by observing where the moles have been at work you may expect to find flint implements in the earth turned up by these little miners, especially after a rainy season. The denuding effects of heavy rainfall on the steep slopes of the hills must also be mentioned as a means of bringing specimens to view.

I do not know whether my classification of ancient stone implements is, or is likely to be, adopted by others, but I divide them into three classes, and if I take an exceptional specimen, which I have, as typical, I may say four classes.

The first, or primitive, type of flint implement is contained by three principal surfaces, two surfaces which meet at, generally, a very large angle, forming the upper side of the implement ; and one surface, which forms the under side. These three surfaces were formed by three separate blows of a hammer, or some substitute for this well-known tool ; and all three blows were delivered at one end of the implement, when it formed part of the parent mass, the third blow producing the severance, and completing the implement.

Supposing the implement to have been made by the above method, and the surfaces to be planes (which they never are in reality), we should have in section a triangle with

two very acute, and one very obtuse, angles; the two acute angles representing the cutting edges, and the obtuse angle representing the backbone, as it were, of the implement. If the specimen is perfect, at the end where the third blow was struck (that producing the under surface), there will be observed a small bulbous projection ; this is known as the "bulb of percussion", and this under surface will present small undulations at about right angles to the direction of the blow which produced it, very similar to the concentric circles caused by throwing a stone into a pond when the surface is still. Knowing this, if the specimen is imperfect, we can generally tell at which end the bulb of percussion was, that is, supposing it is wanting.

Sometimes the upper side is finished off by additional or secondary chipping to make the implement more convenient for handling, when perhaps the ridge will be absent ; but the under side is invariably formed by one principal fracture.

In order to produce these flint flakes, it is pretty certain that the stone was either held in the hand, or placed upon some soft substance ; for if you observe a workman striking off pieces of flint, or "spaults", as they are called, with a hammer, for the purpose of sticking into the joints of walls, in order to make them as dangerous as possible, you will notice that he holds the stone in one hand, while with a hammer in the other he strikes off thin pieces of flint suitable for his purpose.

Sometimes these chippings almost exactly resemble the ancient flint flakes. I have some among my specimens, and if it were not for the change caused by time and atmospheric influences, I could not tell the modern "spaults" from the ancient implements. In the ancient flakes the surfaces are more or less stained and bleached ; this bleaching may extend as much as the tenth of an inch into the substance of the flint, and in thin specimens it sometimes extends through the entire thickness. Also, the surfaces of the ancient flakes have often a dull polish, and if fractured, resemble broken china - that is, to the extent of the bleaching.

The class of implements I have endeavoured to describe appear to have been intended for cutting or scraping.

that is, for the ordinary uses of daily life; implements intended for the chase¹ or war—I mean spear-heads—being, according to my experience, comparatively few. They were, however, made in the same manner as the others, except that I notice the “bulb of percussion” is *not in the middle of the base, but on one side*. The reason of this, I presume, is, that it should not be in the way when the weapon was fixed to its haft or handle, to which it was probably bound by the sinew of some animal.

There is another feature about the implements of this type which is noticeable; this is a certain amount of similarity in the line of curvature of the ridge on the upper side, to the line of fracture on the under side; that is to say, supposing you made a longitudinal section in the line of the ridge, you would in general have the top and bottom of your section of similar curvature. This feature is also often noticed in the modern “spaulds”.

I have here an ancient spearhead fixed to a handle by some strips of wet parchment, as a substitute for sinew. In preparing the handle for the reception of the head, I first split the end with some flakes of flint, and then charred the wood in a flame; I then scraped out the cleft, as well as the charred wood, from the outside, so as to make it fit the head as neatly as possible, afterwards binding the strips of parchment round and through the top of the cleft, so as to fill up what vacant space there was between the cleft and the flint. I should say that the stick is ash, and that it was wet and green when I made the cleft in it. I think you will agree with me that an unpleasant wound could be inflicted with it even now. I have brought the flint tools with me which I used for the purpose of preparing the handle.

Implements made by this method of flaking, range from about 2 in. long and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, to $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and nearly 3 in. wide. I have one specimen reaching these dimensions. Apparently, when implements of larger size, or of a shape which could not be obtained by the method I have described, were required, they were formed by a number of chippings; these implements are

¹ Since this paper was written I have found a few specimens which I think were intended to be thrown by the hand.

often ovate, or tongue-, or wedge-shaped. I have only found two or three specimens of this kind, but a large one was found by the late Mr. G. M. Merricks of Chichester, on one of the Bow Hill tumuli, in 1868; it is now in the Chichester Museum. One of my own specimens I found near the road leading to Goodwood Racecourse, in company with remains of lobster shells, which, from the situation, were evidently left by some persons who probably had no idea what the stone was. Some of the implements of this type are very elaborately worked, as many of the specimens of spear-heads, axe-heads, etc., found in various localities, sufficiently testify.

The third type of flint implement is that which, having been first chipped, was finished by grinding or polishing. Implements of this kind could only have been produced by great labour, though it is probable that stones were selected, when possible, nearly the size and shape of the intended implement. I have only found one specimen of this type; it is the lower half of an axe-head, and was found in Kingley Bottom. I remember I made a long search in the immediate neighbourhood, in the hope of finding the other portion, but without success.

If I may take into consideration the one exceptional specimen I have referred to, I shall have a fourth type of implement. This was originally ground or polished, but afterwards *chipped*, as some part of the ground-surface is still present. It appears to have been an axe-head.

An interesting discovery has recently been made near Goodwood. Last year some caves, excavated out of the chalk, were discovered at Hayes Down, near East Lavant, which is about a mile, or a mile-and-a-half, to the south of Goodwood Racecourse, and a partial exploration of these caves was made in the early part of the present year, by Messrs. Dawson and Lewis, on behalf of the Sussex Archaeological Society. I accompanied these gentlemen on one of their visits to the caves, on which occasion I found a bone pin or bodkin.

So far as my examination extended, there were no signs of the flint bands so often seen running through the chalk, and, therefore, it did not appear that these excavations had been made for the purpose of obtaining flint for the manufacture of implements. However, as it

is highly probable, from the appearance of the ground above these caves, that they are of considerable extent, an extended exploration might result in the discovery of additional data upon which we might be able to form a better judgment of their object and use, than our present limited knowledge will enable us to do.

One or two specimens of worked flints, some bronze pins and rings, as well as other articles, were then found; these were submitted to Mr. Franks, of the British Museum. A report on the exploration and on the articles found was published in the *Sussex Daily News*, March 2nd, 1893.

It was necessary to remove a quantity of chalk from these caves, which was spread out on the ground for examination by the explorers. They, however, appear to have overlooked one interesting object, for, as I am informed, a small flint ornament, which was perhaps worn as a charm, was afterwards found in the *débris*. It was purchased by a dealer¹ in curiosities at Chichester, who brought it to me for inspection. It is of oval shape, ground, with flatings towards the circumference, and pierced with two holes, one in the centre comparatively large, the other near one end and quite small. Both holes are, I think, natural, but have been worked; the hole near the end will only allow a small thread to be passed through it. I am of this opinion, because one of my own specimens has a similar small hole through it, which is evidently accidental, so far as the implement is concerned. This ornament is bleached, and I have made a drawing of it.

I will conclude my paper with a few remarks on the comparative time in the past when the prehistoric inhabitants of the downs had their abode in that elevated district. We can hardly suppose that they would prefer the hilly downs to the low and generally level land nearer the sea, but that they must have occupied the elevated country from necessity, and not from choice. How long it has taken to bleach the flints, which our prehistoric ancestors have left as the evidence of their existence, we are not ever likely to know; but it must certainly have been a very long time. There is no method

¹ Mr. J. Newman.

of calculation that can be applied to the solution of the bleaching problem. For myself, I am inclined to the opinion that the prehistoric age was either during the deposition of the gravel, before the sea had sunk to its present level, or when the low land was a vast marsh and liable to periodic inundations during wet seasons, thus rendering it unfit for, if not impossible of, habitation.

NOTE.—The above paper was read by deputy, as I did not know the time fixed for the reading until very late; and the specimens, etc., were not sent, as I had intended to take them with me. I have thought it better, however, to let the references to specimens remain than to exclude them.—W. H.

ADDITIONAL NOTES UPON THE GREAT SEALS OF ENGLAND.

BY ALLAN WYON, ESQ., V.P., HON. TREASURER,
F.S.A., F.R.G.S.,
CHIEF ENGRAVER OF HER MAJESTY'S SEALS.

(Read 7th March 1894.)

IN 1887 I published a book upon *The Great Seals of England*; a work which had been begun by my late brother, Mr. Alfred B. Wyon, but at his death left incomplete. At the request of his widow I took up the work, and, as far as possible, finished it and carried the whole through the press. It had been the desire of my brother to make the book, so far as the nature of the work permitted, complete in every respect, and I did my utmost to give effect to his intention. I found, however, that after having made every effort to obtain and supply information upon every point of interest in connection with the various subjects which presented themselves, there remained various minor questions upon which I was baffled in my inquiries. As at that time I was unable to obtain further information, I published what I did, in the hope that the very publication might perhaps elicit from unexpected quarters further information which diligent research on my part had failed to obtain. My hope in this respect has not been disappointed. Various matters have been brought under my notice, and these I now venture to lay before the British Archaeological Association, a Society which in the past has done so much for elucidating obscure questions connected with the Great Seals of England. For convenience' sake I will refer to the Seals by the numbers assigned to them in my book.

EDWARD III.

Fifth Seal (of Presence).

Nos. 63 and 64.

(Willis, G.)

“The inscription of this seal was altered, shortly after 30th August 1372, as shown by the subsequent impressions, of which the earliest I have found is dated 26th

Nov. in the same year"; so wrote my late brother, in *The Great Seals of England* (page 39); and previous to the publication of the book I was unable to supply any further information as to when the alteration was effected. The time within which the alteration was made may now be shortened by a couple of days, as Canon Greenwell has written to me, stating: "Among our muniments" (in Durham Cathedral) "I find a Charter of Edward III, which has appended to it the Fifth Seal of Presence (Willis, G.), the document being dated 1st Sept. (46 regnal year of England, 33 of France) 1372. The Seal is not the altered Seal (Willis, G. 2)."

"1^{ma} 4^{ta} Regalium
No. 7,
Sep. 1, 46 Edw. iii
(1372)
Apud Walyngford.

Mandatum ad levand. trescentas lllii libras
et xv.s. de Episcopatu Dunelm in partem
solucionis quinquaginta mill. libr. concess.
per tot: Angliano."

It is to be hoped that other documents with this Seal, before or after alteration, appended may yet be met with bearing date between 1st September and 26th November 1372.

ELIZABETH.

Second Seal.

Nos. 113 and 114.

I believe that I am now able to state by whom this Seal was engraved, having met with the following paragraph in *Notes and Queries* (3^o S. iv, Sept. 12, '63, p. 207):—"NICHOLAS HILLIARD. The name of this eminent miniature painter is familiar to all lovers of English art. From the following memorandum annexed to a particular for lease of the manor of Poyle, in the parish of Stanwell, co. Middlesex, dated 1587 (Augmentation Office Records), it appears that he was the engraver of the Great Seal employed at that period:—

"Memorandum, &c.—The said Lease to be for 21 yeares to the said Hilliard, in consideration of his paines in engraving y^e Great Seale of England.

"Fr. Walsingham.
W. Burleigh."

The Corporation of the City of Wells has a Charter with an impression of this Seal appended, dated 20th November, 1586. The lease appears to have been granted the following year. The parish of Stanwell is about two miles N.W. of Staines.

CHARLES I.

Third Seal.

Nos. 123 and 124.

The difficulty felt by Parliament in ordering another Seal to be prepared instead of the above-mentioned Seal I have dwelt upon in the historical notes I have made respecting this Seal.¹ There I have stated that if the King ultimately triumphed, those who voted for the new Seal might have had to answer in unpleasant ways for violating the law (25 Edw. III, c. 2), which had constituted the offence of counterfeiting the Great Seal an act of high treason. There was also another difficulty which I have not mentioned, and that was to get a copy of the King's Great Seal to work from. The Seal itself was in the custody of the Keeper appointed by the King. Impressions of the Seal were of course to be found attached to various documents, but the holders of these documents could scarcely be expected to part with the documents so sealed for any length of time, as all such documents were of an important character, especially to their owners or custodians. By an entry in the *Middlesex County Records*,² which I have recently come upon, I find that the Speaker of the House of Commons was visited by the vengeance of the King, Charles II, after his restoration in 1660, for his share in carrying out the Resolution of the House of Commons ordering the new Seal to be made; and I find how a mould was obtained of the King's Seal to supply to the engraver from which to make the new (the Parliamentary) Seal. The following is the entry :—

" 19 NOVEMBER, 12 CHARLES II.—Recognizances taken before Thomas Swalowe, esq., J.P., of Edward Merifeild and James Dimmock of Cole-yard, in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, co. Midd., tobacco-pipe-makers, and Thomas Holmes of the said yard, tobacco-pipe-

¹ *The Great Seals of England*, pp. 86-88.

² *Middlesex County Record Society*, vol. iii, p. 307.

maker, and Thomas Rawlins of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, London, gentleman, in the sum of forty pounds each : For the appearance of the same Edward Merifeild, James Dimmock, Thomas Holmes, and Thomas Rawlins, at the next S. P. and G. D. for Middlesex, 'to prefer one bill or more of indictment against John (*sic*) Lenthall, esq., for causing and procuring King Charles the First his Great Seale of England being in wax, and the said wax-seale being annexed to a parchment writing, to be by the said Edward Merifeild, James Dimmock, and Thomas Holmes, moulded off in tobacco-pipe clay ; he, the said John Lenthall, esq., setting by and assisting them. And not only to prosecute the same, but also to give evidence upon the said indictment.' (S. P. Q., 7 Dec., 12 Charles II.)"

In this document Lenthall's Christian name has, I think, been wrongly entered. There can be little doubt that the accused, John Lenthall, was none other than William Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons in 1643, to whom the House would naturally look for assistance in carrying out their Resolution. We can see the care with which the mould was taken, and the care the Speaker took that the document to which the Seal was appended should not go out of his sight during the operation. Then seventeen years afterwards we see the tobacco-pipe-makers turning King's evidence against Lenthall, either for reward or to save their own necks, or possibly for both reasons.

CHARLES II.

First Seal.

Nos. 137 and 138.

Through the kindness of J. Eliot Hodgkin, Esq., F.S.A., of Childwall, Richmond, Surrey, I have been permitted to examine some original documents belonging to him, which throw much interesting light upon the history of this Seal.

Charles was at the Hague in the June following his father's death, and appears to have been in an impecunious state for some long time ; but early in the month mentioned, it would appear from the following document that Charles had succeeded in arranging for a loan of some kind, amounting to 30,000 guilders (£2,500) to be made to him : and determined forthwith to be provided with some of the trappings and belongings usually considered necessary for the dignity of a King :—

" King Charles II to Sir Edward Walker, Knt.,
Clerk of the Council.

" 1649, June 6th. The Hagh.

(Signed) " CHARLES R.

" Our will and pleasure is that out of such money as you shall receive, that you immediately pay to the severall persons specified in the annexed schedule the severall summes sett on their names respectively, and for so doing theise shalbee your sufficient warrant.

" Given under our Signe Manuall, at the Hagh, this sixth day of June 1649."

It is interesting to note that this document does not bear the Signet Seal in the margin, as such warrants had for many years previously, and subsequently have always borne: the reason, no doubt, being that no such Seal was then in the possession of Charles. It is also noteworthy that the money is spoken of, not as being in the hands of Sir Edward Walker, but as money that he would at some future time receive.

" The annexed schedule", signed at the top by the King, still remains, the first three items of which are so interesting that I reproduce them here:

(Signed) " CHARLES R.

		Grs.	St.	D.
To Richard Roades and William Armorer, our Equerries, to provide coach horses, sumpter horses, saddles, &c. . . .	:	1680	00	00
To the Graver for fower scales	:	0165	00	00
For casting the great seal by estimate	:	1000	00	00."

The estimate for the Great Seal, 1,000 guilders, was equal to £83 6s. 8d., rather less than the sum of £100 paid by the Parliament for their Great Seal in 1643. No doubt the cost of the work would, under all ordinary circumstances, be less in Holland than in England. The personal risk of prosecution for high treason to the engraver of the Seal at the Hague would not exist, whereas that to the engraver of the Seal in London in 1643 was considerable; a fact which would no doubt affect the amount asked for the work.

At the end of the Schedule is a very significant note. " Out of the 500 grs. designed for the Great Seale" are a number of apparently pressing, although small claims, accounting for 450 grs. so diverted. There is another

document bearing receipts for the sums authorised by the warrant. Amongst them is the following :—

"8th June, 1649.

"Received by mee, Tho: Chiffinch, for to defray all charges for the Great Seale, a cup and cabbinett for his Majestie, of Sir Edward Walker, by his Majesties orders, 500 grs.

(Signed) "Tho: Chiffinch."

That *part* of this sum of 500 guilders was in full payment of all charges for the Great Seal I do not suppose. The estimate was for 1,000 grs., and that I cannot but believe was the sum ultimately paid for it. It is to be remarked that the above receipt is not signed by the engraver, but by one Chiffinch, about whom I will say a word or two directly. But the receipt is "to defray all charges for..... a cup", say a silver cup costing about grs. 60 (or £5), "and (a) Cabbine^t", which, if only a moderately plain one, would cost probably about grs. 150 or grs. 200 (£12 10s. or £16 13s. 4d.), leaving only a balance of grs. 290 or grs. 240 (£24 3s. 4d. or £20) available for the Great Seal. This balance of £20 or £25 would be about the sum required for the silver of which to make the Seal, and this the engraver no doubt would demand beforehand, and insist upon obtaining, before purchasing the silver, without which he could not commence his work. When Simon engraved the Parliamentary Great Seal of Charles I he arranged for the sum of £40 being paid before he began his work.¹ The receipt is signed by Tho. Chiffinch, pimp to Charles II. Chiffinch may very likely have seen the engraver of the Seal and ascertained from him that if he were supplied with cash for procuring the silver he would wait for the balance until after the Seal was finished. Then would occur the idea of using 500 guilders for the very pressing claims above referred to, and with the remainder Chiffinch may very likely have thought of providing for the King some little luxuries for which his Majesty may have expressed a desire—a silver cup and a cabinet. This Chiffinch is not the disreputable man of the same name mentioned by Macaulay as being in attendance upon Charles II at the time of the King's death; but Thomas was the brother of the disreputable man, and was of no better character.

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. iii, p. 174.

Thomas Chiffinch was panderer to Charles throughout his exile upon the Continent. He returned to England with his Sovereign in 1660, and was appointed the King's Closet-keeper. In 1666 he died, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

CHARLES II.

Fourth and Fifth Seals.

Nos. 143 and 144.

The Fourth Seal I described seven years ago.¹ Last January twelvemonths, through the kindness of Earl Manvers, I saw a Charter belonging to that nobleman, granting to his ancestors rights over part of Sherwood Forest. The Charter was placed in a glass case on one of the walls of the Earl's mansion in Thoresby Park, Ollerton, Nottinghamshire. Appended to the Charter was a Great Seal of Charles II, the throne side of which only was visible, but on it I noticed a large number of roses on the field or surface of the Seal. I wished to see the horse side of the Seal, but the Earl was reluctant to have the large case taken from its place and opened; I was consequently left in ignorance as to whether or not there were roses on the horse side of the Seal. In January this year, by the permission of the Merchant Taylors' Company, I examined one of that Company's Charters with this Seal attached, upon which I found roses on both the *horse* and the *throne sides*. Since then I have examined several Charters with impressions of this Charles II's fourth Great Seal attached. Many of these impressions are only fragments. Some I found to be marked with roses, and some were without roses. Upon arranging the Charters inspected according to their dates, they stand as follows:—

WITHOUT ROSES.

Public Record Office	20th Dec. 1672
British Museum	:	12th Sept. 1674
Corporation of the City of London	:	29th Feb. 1676
India Office	:	21st Oct. 1676
India Office	:	5th Oct. 1677

¹ *The Great Seals of England*, pp. 196, 197.

WITH ROSES.

India Office	22nd Nov. 1678
Carpenters' Company	31st July 1680
India Office	18th Sept. 1682
British Museum	2nd Dec. 1682
India Office	5th July 1683
Earl Manvers	7th Mar. 1684
Stationers' Company	22nd May 1684
Corporation of the City of London	24th Dec. 1684
Merchant Taylors' Company	14th Jan. 1685

It will be observed that all impressions of this Seal, down to 5th October 1677, have no roses upon them; and that all impressions of this Seal on and after 22nd November 1678, have roses upon them. At some time, therefore, between these two dates, the Seal was altered, making it another Seal, that is to say, the *Fifth Seal* of Charles II.

It is unnecessary here fully to describe the Seal, as its main description has already been published.¹ All that is necessary here is to state the number of the roses and where they are to be found. They number twenty-two in all upon the throne side and eleven in all upon the horse side of Seal. Upon the throne side twelve roses are close to the band upon which the legend is placed, and can be found under certain letters, thus—

CAROLVS · SECUNDVS · D · GRA · MAG · BRI ·
 * * * * * * *
 FRA · ET · IIB · REX · FID · DEFENSOR ·
 * * * * * * *

Another rose is placed under the first v in SECUNDVS, but closer to the centre of the Seal. Two more roses, similarly situated, are to be found under the D and E in DEFENSOR. Seven more roses are on the ground in front of the cushion upon which the King's feet rest.

Upon the horse side eight roses are close to the band upon which the legend is placed, and can be found under certain letters, thus—

CAROLVS · SECUNDVS · DEI · GRATIA / MAGNÆ · BRITANNIE ·
 * * * * * * *
 FRANCIE · ET · IIBERNIE · REX · FIDEI · DEFENSOR
 * * *

Another rose is placed under the letters SE in SECUNDVS,

¹ *The Great Seals of England*, pp. 106, 107.



ODISSEUS CADUS DEI G

CH

but closer to the centre of the Seal, appearing on the field between the King's cloak and the back of the horse. Two more roses are under the letters *A* and *æ* in FRANCÆ, but closer to the centre of the Seal.

These roses, although distinctly visible on some of the Seals, are on some so little raised above the ground that unless one knows where to look for them they are liable to be overlooked altogether. On the Seals attached to the Charters dated 22nd Nov. 1678 and 2nd Dec. 1682, the only rose showing on each of them is the one under the word *GRATIA* on the horse side.

It would be interesting to know the exact date when the Seal was altered, and also the reason for the alteration. With a view of ascertaining this, if possible, I obtained permission to search the records of the Privy Council. But I regret to state that from them I have been unable to learn anything, although I have most carefully searched their records bound up in "Volume xiii, Charles II", which contains all the entries made between 2nd May 1677 and 31st December 1678, inclusive.

GEORGE I.

Nos. 155 and 156.

In a note upon engravers of Great Seals¹ I mention that John Roos was "Engraver of public Seals", both under Queen Anne and George I, but I have hitherto been unable to state that he was the engraver actually employed upon any one of the Great Seals of England. Through the kindness of W. V. Morten, Esq., I am now able definitely to state that the Seal of George I was engraved by John Roos. Mr. Morten has sent me the original warrant for the payment of this Seal, from which I make the following extracts:—

"After Our hearty Commendac'ons, By vertue of his Ma^{ts} Generall Letters Patent Dormant, bearing date the 14th day of August 1714. These are to pray and require Your Lord'p to draw an Order for paying unto the Executors or Administrators of John Roos, Gent, late Cheife Ingraver of his Ma^{ts} Signetts and Seales, or their Assignes, the sum of Five hundred, Fifty-one pounds, Sixteen shillings, and Ten pence, without Account, in full Satisfaction for the Several Seals here under menc'oned, made and delivered

¹ *The Great Seals of England*, p. 190.

pursuant to the Several directions he received under his Ma^{ts} Royall Signe Manual, the Same having been Examined by the Principall Officers of his M^{ts} Mint, and the Prices therein contained by them Certified as reasonable to be allowed. That is to say :—

	£	s.	d.
For the Great Seal of Great Britain	200	0	0
For the Silver of the said Seal, weighing 117oz. 10dwt. at five shillings and two pence per ounce	30	7	1
* * * * *			
	£551	16	10

And let the said Order be satisfyed out of any money remaining in the Receipt of his M^{ts} Exchequer applicable to the Uses of his Majesties Civil Government. And for so doing this shall be your Lord^{ps} Warrant.

" Whitehall Treasury Chambers, (Signed)

7 Aug. 1717.

" Torrington.

J. Wallop.

Geo: Baillie.

" To Our very good Lord George Earl of
Halifax, Auditor of the Receipt of
his Ma^{ts} Exchequer."

GEORGE III.

Whilst dealing with this subject of the Great Seals of England, I take this opportunity of mentioning that the Obverses of the two Seals 667 and 668, described on pp. 76 and 77 in the *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, are, in my opinion, only impressions of Great Seals of George III taken during the course of their engraving. In both cases the space left for the Royal Arms and inscribed Garters are only cut out (or "laid in") in the matrix; no attempt has been made so far, when the impressions were taken, to engrave the Arms or to letter the Garter. There are also several other parts of the Seals in a similar condition. No. 667 is the impression of George III's Great Seal of Ireland, where in the legend MAG. is put for MAGNÆ, which appears in his Great Seal of England. When finished this Seal had a harp upon each side of the Royal Arms. Amongst the very many impressions of George III's Great Seals attached to documents which I have examined, both at the British Museum and elsewhere

throughout England, I have never come upon one in which the Royal Arms had been left incomplete on the matrix ; nor have I been able to hear of anyone else who has seen such a Seal. The casts of the Reverses of both 667 and 668 are probably both taken from some Seal in use. In the Reverse of 668 the marks of the cord passing through the Seal are plainly seen.

As a guide to any student of the Great Seals of England, I desire here to note Mr. W. de G. Birch's paper on a Seal of Henry III, with altered legend, which appeared in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Second Series, vol. xii, pp. 426-429.

THE DISCOVERY OF A SAXON BURIAL-PLACE NEAR READING.

BY JOSEPH STEVENS, ESQ., M.R.C.P.L.

(Read during the Winchester Congress, 3rd Aug. 1893.)

THE particulars which I now bring to the knowledge of this Society bear reference to a series of interments, which were dug out in 1891, in removing ballast alongside the Great Western Railway, during the process of widening the line. The site of the cemetery is a platform of a small elevation 630 ft. south of the Thames, and about 50 ft. above its level, at about three-quarters of the distance between the railway bridge at the Kennet's mouth at Reading, on the east, and the brick-kiln at Earley, on the west, the space in which the remains were found comprehending 68 ft. from north to south, and 57 ft. from east to west, in a line parallel with the railway. The surface at the spot was irregular, but there were no indications of tumuli; and if such had been present they were most likely removed in preparing the ground at the time the railway was first constructed. The distances the interments lay apart favour the opinion that small tumuli were at one time present, although it is not unusual to find graves without tumuli in pagan Saxon cemeteries, of which instances might be quoted in those of Fairford in Gloucestershire,¹ Little Wilbraham in Cambridgeshire,² and Harnham Hill near Salisbury.³ The interments included both the incinerated and inhumed, the inhumed bodies lying east and west; and it is worth noting that in the Saxon tumulus which was opened at Taplow, a few miles distant, in 1883, the body was found extended in the same direction.

The earlier relics were not found till about the middle of April, but it was on May 4th that Mr. George William Smith of Reading, to whom the discovery is due, and

¹ *Fairford Graves*, Wylie. 4to. Oxford, 1852.

² *Saxon Obsequies*, Neville. London, 1852.

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv, p. 259.

who generously placed the whole of the relics in the Reading Museum, brought the matter to my notice, when I became associated with him in the recognition of the burials, and in repairing the vessels, which were mostly broken, and the more delicate objects, which from lying so superficial had become in some cases almost fragmentary.

It appears that two interments had been disturbed by the workmen before the importance of the discoveries had been recognised ; but the fragments of the pottery, and the incinerated human bones, which were subsequently obtained and examined, sufficiently proved that they were of the same character as those discovered later. On April 15th the first inhumed interment was found. It was that of a male, extended, as we have already stated, east and west, at the depth of 2 ft. 6 in. ; but as further work could not be carried on here at the moment, the spear-head, knife, and fibula (figs. 1, 2, 3) were not removed till April 17th. They were lying immediately where the bones had lain, and there is no doubt formed part of the interment.

Interment 4.—On April 27th, at 34 ft. north of No. 2, a skeleton was found, at the depth of 25 in. ; but the osseous remains were so friable that part of the skull alone was brought away. It lay on its back, oriented as the others, and with it were two gilded bronze fibulæ (fig. 4 shows one with its pin-loop), a bronze armilla (8), an iron buckle with bronze plate for fixing (7), and at about 1 ft. on the left, or north side of the body, the plain urn (6).

Interment 5.—On April 27th, at 57 ft. east of No. 2, and at an angle 15 ft. north of No. 2, at the depth of 2 ft., lay the large urn numbered 10. It was crushed, but was found to be a cinerary urn, its contents being earth mingled with calcined human bones. On carefully removing the materials among the *débris* was found a fragment of the moulding of a bone comb (5).

Interment 6.—I was present with Mr. G. W. Smith when this vessel (fig. 9) was taken up. It lay 2 ft. in depth, and was 53 ft. north of No. 5, and 5 ft. west of No. 5 ; and was somewhat damaged on removal. Its contents were burnt human bones mingled with earth ; and from among the materials was picked out the small bronze

pin (11), which conveys the impression that it was used to pin the cloth in which the fragments of incinerated bone were inclosed.

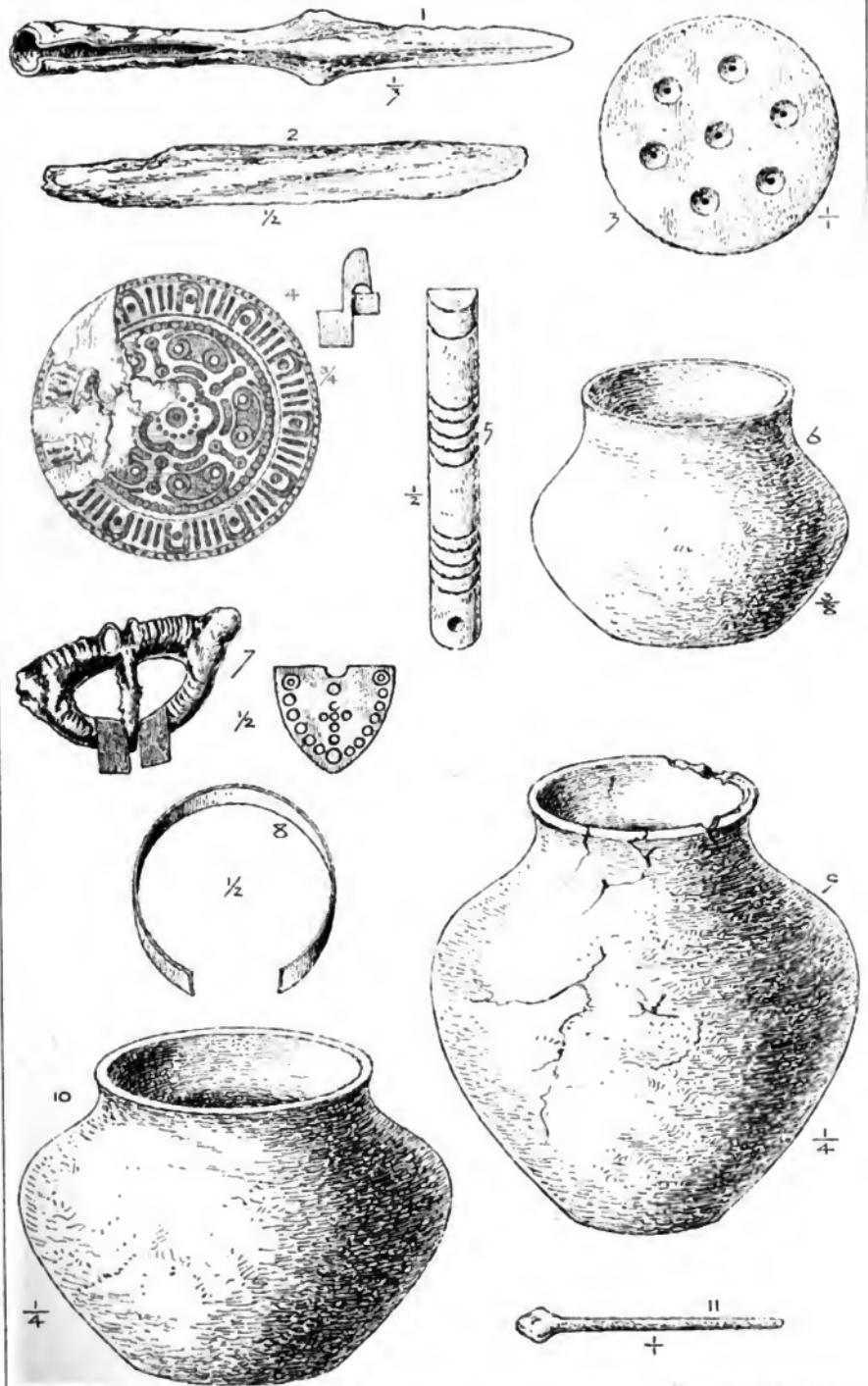
Interment 7.—The vessel numbered 14 lay 68 ft. north of No. 2, and 52 ft. west of No. 6, at the depth of 2 ft. 6 in., in gravel; but as nothing further could be done here till May 21st the site was marked, when at the same depth as the urn, viz., 2 ft. 6 in., and immediately on the north of it, was an inhumed interment. There was no apparent covering to the skeleton, but on the pelvis were found two bronze fibulae (16), one with an iron pin, and with the bones thirteen beads and an iron knife (figs. 12, 13). The bones were removed for examination; and at a foot to the north, at the depth of 17 in., was a patch of blackened and burnt mould. I have since examined the osseous remains, and find that they are those of an aged female of small stature, and consist of the posterior two-thirds of the cranium, which is contracted, and of small size; the frontal is absent, and all the facial bones except the lower *maxilla*. There are the right *ulna* and *radius*, part of the left *ulna*, and twelve *vertebrae*, various; head of right *femur*, and part of the *pelvis*, part of a *clavicle*, and some *metatarsal* and *phalangial* bones.

Interment 8.—Found on May 6th, at 20 ft. east, and 15 ft. south of urn 7, fragments of a cinerary vessel only, of same plain character as the others. A few crocks and some scraps of incinerated bones alone were preserved.

Interment 9.—On May 9th, 10 ft. west of No. 5, at the depth of 2 ft., the lower portion of an urn was dug out, of plain character, containing some bony remains; and among the remains was found what appeared to be a large iron bead (No. 17). A piece of charred briar was also present.

Interment 10.—On May 15th, at 30 ft. south of No. 6, the lower part of an interment vessel was dug out, with similar bony contents as in the other cases.

Interment 11.—On May 24th a small pot was discovered, which might have been used to contain food (No. 15), with another small urn, which was broken. It was coloured on its interior as if it had contained lead oxide, and might have been a pigment pot. The two vessels were lying at about 18 ft. from, and on the north of, interment 4.



SAXON REMAINS FOUND NEAR READING.

Interment 12.—May 25th, discovered a male of large stature, extended in the same direction as the others, and at the same depth, about 2 ft. : and with the bones were removed part of a bone comb (fig. 18), a double-pointed bone pin, which appears to be a spindle (fig. 19), and an iron spear-head or javelin (fig. 21). The *calvaria* was not removable, as it was perished beyond recovery; but both *femoræ* were removed, with fragments of the *pelvis*, both *tibiae* and *fibulae*, and a few *phalangial* bones. In the top soil of the grave were found various animal bones, of which were recognised jaws of goat, jaw and teeth of horse (*Equus caballus*), a lower jaw of pig, and one horn-core of an ox, apparently *Bos longifrons*. The bones had not been exposed to fire.

Interment 13.—On July 8th, the workmen came on a contracted interment, apparently the body of a female, and the articles lying with it were such as would be buried with a female. In the grave was found the peculiar vessel, with small Saxon-like foot (fig. 28), and with the bones were discovered two bronze spiral finger-rings (22), a bronze girdle-buckle without its pin (24), a bronze belt-tag (23), with a runner or loop for the girdle (25), and a small greenish glass bead. A Roman coin, apparently 3rd brass, holed for suspension, also was taken from the grave. The removed bones consisted of both *femoræ*, fragments of *pelvis*, five scraps of *cranium*, thirteen *vertebrae* (various), and part of *coccyx*: all the facial bones were absent except the upper and lower *maxillæ*, but both *claviculae*, and the upper third of the right *tibia* and *fibula*, and fragments of *humerus* and *radius*, were recovered.

In making a careful examination of the Cemetery ground on November 9th, various articles were found. They were not associated with interments, but there is very little doubt that they appertained to burials which had been disturbed at some time. They include part of a bronze-mounted iron sword (fig. 27), two bronze buckles (fig. 20), and a very neat object in agate, which being holed for suspension, was most likely worn as an ornament or charm. Two other coins, small Roman brass, one holed, were picked up; and the soil contained flint flakes, scrapers, and other wrought forms, in all twelve specimens, which were not associated with the interments.

As the relics were taken to my residence as they were found, ample opportunities were furnished of observing any peculiarities savouring of their resemblance to articles from other Saxon burial-places. The whole series is thoroughly of Saxon type, the vessels having the peculiar wobbling appearance characteristic of the plastic art of that period. This is due to their not being lathe-turned, and from this they are of much the same character as the urns found at Frilford cemetery, in the same county. Of the vessels found at Reading, five were plain and three patterned, of which two (14 and 28) are ornamented with similar punched stellate ornamentation, with zig-zags and encircling lines as those on urns from Frilford.¹ And the urn 14 is almost identical in its decoration with an urn found at Kingston, near Derby.² The small pot (No. 15) is a clumsy form, with festooned base, scored with rude lines, made probably with a pointed stick or bone pin.

There is nothing peculiar in the weapons, but the spears have the characteristic splits in their sockets. The small iron knife can hardly be considered as a *seax*, which had more the character of a weapon. The knife from interment 3 is of a more formidable type.

Of the trinkets, many similar examples of the beads (No. 12) have been found; and there are specimens in the British Museum, notably a string presented by Sir Joseph Banks. The Reading set consists of thirteen, of which two are cylindriform, two vitreous apparently, two cuboid, six of coloured clays, and one of amber. Amber appears to have been of great interest to the Saxons, large single beads of this material being found with Saxon remains, which are thought to have been worn as amulets. A single large bead of amber occurred with a skeleton at Pangbourne, at the same time the discoveries were being made at Reading. The solitary iron bead lying in association with interment 9 suggests that it also might have been used as a charm, particularly as all kinds of ironwork were believed to be efficacious against evil spirits,³ and which might have been the

¹ *Scientific Papers and Addresses*, vol. ii, p. 655. Rolleston.

² *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. ii, pp. 62-63.

³ *Saxo Grammaticus*, lib. viii, p. 431, ed. Müller.

object of placing the three large iron rings (figs. 26) in grave No. 13, if they may not be considered as ring money.

In reference to the beads just described, and as appertaining to Berkshire, it might be stated that the same case in the Reading Museum contains another set of beads, which was discovered by Messrs. Geo. and Walter Baylis of Wyfield Manor, near Newbury. The place of burial was about 100 yards west of the farm buildings, on the East Shefford estate, in the Lambourne Valley. The bones were those of a female of about forty-five years of age, and the skull is of medium capacity; but its dimensions could not be conveniently taken on account of the absence of the *occipital* bone and both *temporal* bones. The beads consist of the usual coloured clays, of variegated crimson, blue and white, black and white, and quite black, while one is of blue glass. The discovery was made on the 20th of June 1893; and the body lay east and west, as in the case of the interments already detailed, at the depth of only 2 ft.

Respecting the *fibulae*, the circular, bronze form (fig. 3) with seven annular ornaments is identical, save in the number of the circles in the disk, with a brooch from Fairford cemetery.¹ The peculiar brooches from interment 4, bearing rude human heads, are sufficiently like, for comparison in rudeness, a *fibula* with similar conventional figures also from Fairford;² and they are all wrought on the same lines,—a basal plate of bronze with an outer casing of bronze foil gilded, in which the figures are embossed. The brooches from interment 7 are thicker, and what is left of the outer plate shows gilt scroll of better design (fig. 16), and more like Roman work.

The plain *armilla* (interment 4) is simply a thin bronze spring for the wrist, and resembles the flexible bracelets found with Roman remains.

The interment 12 is chiefly remarkable from the presence of a bone spindle and part of a comb. The spindle was without its attendant whorl; and the discovery is not common, for although both Roman and Saxon whorls

¹ *Remains of Pagan Saxon dom*, p. 62. Akerman.

² *Fairford Graves*. 4to. Oxford, 1852.

are occasionally met with, they are usually unaccompanied with spindles. No nails were found, or fragments of decayed wood, in evidence that slabs or coffins had been used. It is worth remarking that the Reading Museum contains part of a similar spindle, which was found in one of the pagan temples at Silchester.

With reference to bone combs, they are not uncommon, particularly in graves in the north of England. They are usually ornamented with incised lines and circles, and were placed in the urns. There is an example in the Reading Museum of an urn containing a long, double-toothed comb from Brixworth, near Northampton. The portion of comb from interment 12 is merely an ornamental end of a large comb, the middle containing the teeth being gone. That it is as here stated is testified by an example in the British Museum, in which a comb is supported with similar end-pieces.

The interment numbered 13 contains small objects for securing the belt or girdle, and some large iron rings; but the relics of chief interest are the spiral finger-rings. These are of bronze; but they are sometimes constructed of white metal, as in the case of a ring found at Harnham. They have also been discovered at Linton Heath, Fairford, and Little Wilbraham; and several of the "twist-rings" (so called) were removed with the Romano-British remains during the investigations made by General Pitt-Rivers at Woodcuts, near Rushmore,¹ from which it would appear that the Saxons in some cases followed the arts of the Romans. The object of their being made spiral was evidently that they might be expanded or contracted to suit the size of the finger.

When we consider the shallowness of these interments, the presence of secular reliques, and the absence of orientation, there is little doubt that they are pagan, although probably of late date. The contemporaneous practice of cremation and inhumation is of considerable importance in showing when the heathen custom of burning the dead was on the point of change to the Christian mode

¹ *Excavations in Woolcuts Common, in Cranborne Chase*, vol. i, 1887.
Privately printed.



of sepulture. Prof. Rolleston states that the urns from Frilford and Long Wittenham were the only ones he had seen recorded in Berkshire.¹ To these we have now to add those of Reading; but at Frilford, as at Reading, inhumation was practised at the same time. It appears that there are records of similar finds of urns in about thirteen English counties, viz., Warwickshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, Oxfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Wight;² to which may be added Berkshire, Sussex, and Kent, although the last two appear to have used inhumation at a prior period, showing that paganism was earlier superseded in those counties. As Christianity opposed itself to the practice of cremation,³ the new discoveries which are continually turning up (and will to a yet greater extent as the country becomes more thoroughly broken up under the exigencies of an increasing population), serve to show, with those already made, how completely England was overrun with pagan Teutons. The dual practice of cremation with inhumation, with relics, and without orientation, observed in many burial-places, particularly in the northern counties, evidences that the one was, so far, as pagan as the other. Authorities have not been wanting who have advocated that the two forms were co-existent in *time*⁴ and *place*. There is no doubt of their co-existence in place; but if they cannot be correlated in time, inhumation, although accompanied with pagan accessories, would appear to indicate that those who practised it were becoming more in sympathy with the Christian form.

¹ *Scientific Papers and Addresses*, vol. ii, p. 597.

² *Ibid.*, p. 598.

³ *Life of Julian* (Neander), English translation, p. 108; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii, p. 467; *Hore Ferales* (Kemble), p. 95.

⁴ *Hore Ferales* (Kemble), p. 918; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii, p. 456; *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 11, Neville.

TWO PREHISTORIC WEAPONS RECENTLY FOUND IN ESSEX.

BY B. WINSTONE, ESQ., M.D.

(Read 4th April 1894.)

I HAVE placed on the table two prehistoric implements, one from Epping, the other from North Weald, an adjoining parish. They are similar to bronze and stone implements found in other parts of the kingdom, and do not, therefore, claim any description. There are, however, circumstances connected with the district in which they were found, possessing (I venture to believe) archaeological interest.

The bronze weapon was found in North Weald. Mr. Francis Hart took it off a heap of old iron gathered on Caines Farm, a large farm in the occupation of his father. Unfortunately there is no procurable information as to when, or on what part of the farm, it was found; but as it had been carelessly thrown on the heap of metal, there is trustworthy circumstantial evidence of its having been turned up during some agricultural operations.

North Weald parish touches Epping Forest, the remains of a forest extending at one time over the whole county. Epping Forest was a royal forest, the kings of England hunted in it, and stringent laws were made for the protection of the deer. It is due, we may assume, to the forest rights possessed by the Crown until quite recent times, that two ancient earthworks of great interest have been preserved. They are known as Ambresbury Bank and Loughton Camp. Each is a British earthwork or *oppidum*,—places of refuge for the primitive inhabitants.

Ambresbury Bank, although now close to the road, was originally in the heart of the Forest. It encloses 12 acres, and must have been the stronghold of a large tribe, for it would take many warriors to man the ramparts enclosing 12 acres. In the valley of the river Roden, which it dominates, there is abundant pasturage

for the maintenance of numerous cattle. Excavations have demonstrated its having been made long ago, long before our era commenced. The Essex Field Club, under the management of Mr. Cole, made, a few years ago, a cutting through the whole height of a portion of the Bank enclosing the space or camp. Every spadeful of earth excavated was sifted, and the find was pieces of earthenware or pottery. They were submitted to General Pitt-Rivers for identification. He said they were of British manufacture of a very crude and coarse character, and belonged to an early prehistoric date.

Excavations have also been made, under Mr. Cole's superintendence, at Loughton Camp, a much smaller and less well-defined enclosure. A cutter, or stone chisel, and many flint chips were found. As the crow flies, Loughton Camp is about two miles distant from Ambresbury Bank. At one time there were the remains of a path or trackway (keeping along the high ground) from the high ground a little above Loughton Camp to Ambresbury Bank. From Ambresbury Bank, the way known by the name of the Mill-ride, as it left the Forest by the manorial windmill, continued on the south side of the Purlieu Bank across Bell Common (at the back of the town of Epping it is known as Hennel's Street, being in a manor of that name) to North Weald, where the bronze instrument was found.

It is said that roads keeping to the high ground, along ridges of hills, and having by their sides, or near to them, moated

earthworks or mounds, have the characteristics of ancient British roads; i.e., trackways of the primitive inhabitants. There is at present a road (once a turn-

Found on Cains or Cannes Farm, North Weald Bassett, Essex, by Francis Hart, Epping. Total length, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; length of blade, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; width of ditto at base, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., tapering to a sharp point.

12²

pike road) a continuation of the road of which I have been speaking, through North Weald to Ongar, and in one direction by Writtle, where some have placed Cæsarmagus (an important Roman station), to Maldon ; and in the other, through Fyfield and the Rodings, to Dunmow, where other antiquaries have located Cæsarmagus. The road has the characteristics of an ancient British road, for it keeps along the ridge of hills, and has by its side, or near to it, moated mounds. At one time there were three, but now only two. The Guardians wanting work for the unemployed, had the largest, and the best preserved, levelled, and part of its site taken into the new Union Workhouse garden. Of the remaining, one is in the grounds of the estate called "The Grove", turned into an ornamental mound ; and the other at the back of brick and tile-works, where Roman tiles have been found. It may be reasonably supposed that as it retains features of a British trackway, it has taken the place of the way by which communications were kept up between the tribes who occupied Ambresbury Bank and Loughton Camp, and those of North Weald and the country beyond it.

There are two Wealds, North and South, several miles apart. The name "Weald" is said in county histories to be derived from a Saxon word meaning wood or forest-land ; but I venture to suggest that the inhabitants were British, called by the Teutonic immigrants Wealh, Wealas, or Walla, words signifying strangers or foreigners. It may have been first applied to designate the British, who occupied the ground, by the Alamanni or Bavarians settled in the locality, of whom I shall have to speak further on. The county was covered by woods, therefore to designate a settlement of any kind as being in a wood would be so vague as to give rise to the idea that the origin of the name had not been known to later Saxon writers, so they used the word familiar to them. In South Weald there is an earthwork said to be Roman, but answering to the description of a British *oppidum*.

From Ongar to Dunmow the road passes through Fyfield, a place of no interest to us beyond there having been found there, in the middle of the last century, prehistoric remains, with which the bronze dagger on the

table was probably closely connected. Mr. Gough, in his edition of *Camden* (1789), writes : "At Fyfield, by Ongar, in 1749, were found a great number of celts, with a large quantity of metal for casting them; 50 lb. of which, with several of the instruments, the late Earl Tilney gave to Mr. Lethuillier. One Glascock, a farmer, and horse-leech of some eminence, bought the celts altogether for five shillings, fancying them gold; and by his idle talk about them betrayed them to the lord of the manor, who claimed them all."

As the Cannes Farm, on which the instrument on the table was found, is not more than six miles from Fyfield, it is probable it was manufactured there; but whether it was lost on the land at the time, or one of those found in 1749, there are no means of ascertaining. The arrangement for fixing the handle differs from that in the bronze instruments usually found. They have the butt-end prolonged like scythes, sickles, chisels, etc., of the present time, so as to go through the length of the handle, whilst the one on the table has the butt-end flattened out. The handle must have been formed of two pieces of wood, through which passed the rivets, which were then bound or riveted together to fit the handle to the hand; or a groove cut in a piece of wood properly shaped, so as to admit of the insertion of the flat end, and made fast by the rivets. In the British Museum are some daggers of a similar pattern, one found in the Thames at Kingston. In Sir John Evans' *Ancient British Instruments* there is a drawing of one found at Coveney, near Downham Hithe, in Cambridgeshire, so like the one from North Weald as to give rise to the supposition that they came out of the same manufactory; the more especially as Fyfield is not very far from Cambridgeshire.

As coal does not exist in Essex, wood had to be used for fuel; it is, therefore, readily understood why works such as those at Fyfield should be placed where wood was abundant. But the bronze must have been brought from a distance, for neither copper nor tin is found in Essex. Mr. Gough says that the metal given to Mr. Lethuillier weighed 50 lb. Although it is not stated to have been one lump, no other conclusion can be arrived at, for Mr. Lethuillier was an archaeologist, and connected

with the county families. He would not have wanted 50 lb. of broken pieces, but would have been interested in ascertaining the weight of an ingot or lump of metal. Sir John Evans (p. 423), speaking of imported bronze, says that it came over in lumps of 30 or 50 lb. The lump found at Fyfield seems, therefore, to have been of foreign make.

A writer in a recent number of *Notes and Queries* suggests that the name bronze is derived from the name of the port from which it was shipped, and suggests its having come originally from Brindisium, now Brindisi.

The Etruscans are known to have excelled in the manufacture of articles made in bronze, and Brindisium was the port frequented by merchants trading with Italy. The introduction of bronze, for the purpose of manufacture, into England, does not appear to have taken place before the Roman occupation of the Island, so it may have come direct from Italy; but Caesar, who obtained from the merchants trading to England the information he required before attempting his invasion, mentions bronze being obtained by the Britons from Gaul. In his time it does not appear to have been a British manufacture.

Maldon seems to have been a place of great importance, even if Colchester, and not Maldon, was the capital of the Trinobantes. It formed an easy port of entrance into the county, affording great facilities for trading with the people. Fyfield is not more than two or three days' journey from Maldon for pack-horses, and if the tide ran up the river Chelmer as many miles as it did up the river Lea, merchandise could have been carried by water very far into the country, and within an easy distance of Fyfield.

The parish or manor of Epping consists of two ranges of hills, separated by a deep valley. For parochial purposes, the parish is divided into Uplands and Town Side; the latter comprises the Forest in which is Ambresbury Bank, and the road leading to North Weald. The Uplands is the cultivated portion, the village of Epping is in it, and also the church, of the time of Henry II. There are not, so far as I can learn, any earthworks, nor have there been found flint instruments indicating that

there had been settlements of the primitive people, notwithstanding that the valleys on either side abound in flint instruments. Mr. Worthington Smith states that he has found them in the valley of the Lea from Dunstable to Blackwall; and in the valley of the Roden at Barking, and other places. But he does not mention having found them in the district of which I am speaking, excepting the stone chisel and flint chips in Loughton Camp, and a stone pestle from a place a little below it. As a valley, and formerly a dense forest, separated it from the Uplands, there was probably no connection between the places. The stone instrument on the table



Found on Gills Farm, Epping Uplands, by Charles B. Sworder of Epping. Length, 6*1*/*4* in.; breadth, 3*1*/*2* in.; thickness, 2 in.; weight, 2 lb. 2 oz.



Section of the Stone to show the formation of the hole drilled through it.

was found by Mr. Charles B. Sworder of Epping, on Gills Farm in the Uplands. It was on a heap of stones gathered off the field, intended for use in mending the roads, where the land had been cut up by the traffic of carts and cattle through the field gates. He could obtain no information as to when or where it had been found; so the supposition as to its having been gathered with other stones off the farm can only be accepted as probable. The material of the instrument is quartzite—a stone not belonging to Essex nor to the neighbouring counties, although occasionally found with other stones in gravel-pits. It seems by its high finish to have been of the latest period of the neolithic age; the manner, moreover, in which the hole has been drilled, shows that it was done by a skilled workman. Mr. Worthington Smith says he has never found a drilled hammer-stone in the valley of the river Lea; but he has seen one preserved

in the schoolroom at Waltham Abbey, which had been taken out of the bed of the river. Sir John Evans has given in his work, *Ancient Stone Instruments of Great Britain*, a drawing (page 518) of a similar stone found at Winterborn Bassett, in Wiltshire, and there is also a drawing of another stone resembling it found at Sporle near Swaffham, in Norfolk. The Swaffham coach ran through Epping, so there may have existed in prehistoric times a British road between the two places, affording a means of communication between the tribes. In addition to the Swaffham in Norfolk, there are two in Cambridgeshire, near the river Cam, not far from Newmarket. In the fens, on which they are situated, many stone instruments have been found. But they appear not to be made of the same kind of stone, nor are they so highly finished as the one on the table. The hole for the handle has been bored from each side, and is conical, the hole in the middle being much smaller than on the surfaces. How the handle was fixed wants explanation, on account of the peculiar formation of the hole. If at right angles, like an adze or garden hoe, it would apparently have required wood to be compressed sufficiently to have gone through the small hole in the middle, and then for it to swell again like champagne corks. A handle, however, might have been made by passing a stick of wood, so prepared as to admit of its being bent nearly double, through the hole, and bringing together the two ends or lengths, and binding them by a leather thong, so as to make a compact handle. The chipped edge shows that it has been used. It seems to have been of foreign introduction. Although the Uplands do not appear to have been inhabited, along the northern side, overlooking the valleys of the Lea and Stort, there ran a road, which apparently was a means of communication between the capital of the Cassii, the hill on which St. Alban's now stands, and the country of the Trinobantes, forming a direct road to Maldon, said by Camden, although disputed by other authorities, to have been their capital town. A portion of the road now remains, known as Epping Long Green; the village is partly on it, and it is called, in a deed in my possession relating to property by

the side of it, "The King's Highway from Rye Hill to Waltham Abbey"; encroachments have, however, broken off at Harrold Farm its connection as a road with Waltham Abbey; but from Rye Hill it continues through farm-lands—Latton Priory.

Latton Priory was once a monastery for twelve monks of the St. Augustine Order, but the church only now remains; it is used for a barn, and is therefore well preserved. In the field opposite is a moated mound, characteristic by its presence of an early British road, by which the road, still keeping the high ground, continued over Hazelwood Common into the heart of Essex, and also on to the sea coast. The conquest of England by the Romans commenced in Essex about the year A.D. 47. At that time Tasciovanus was chieftain over the Cassii—whose capital was St. Albans—and his son, the famous Cunobeline, ruled over the Trinobantes inhabiting Essex. Claudius, having conquered Cunobeline, and having taken Maldon, advanced against Tasciovanus. As the most direct road to St. Albans would have been that of which I am speaking, he and his victorious army probably marched along it, by what is now the village of Epping, to the river Lea at Waltham; crossing it by a ford, he would have proceeded up Enfield Chase, by the road marked in an old map the Camletway, as if derived from Camulodunum, to where is now St. Albans, the capital of the Cassii. His disciplined army overcame Tasciovanus. The Romans there built Verulamium, having on one side the river Ver and on the other a trackway, which subsequently became Watling Street; Verulamium for a little time was the Roman stronghold on the extreme limit of their conquest. A road connecting Verulamium with the heart of Essex and the sea coast was probably of importance, and there are grounds for the belief that the Romans established on it colonies of Germans; and that such a colony gave to the place the name of Epping. About the year 279, according to Gibbon, Probus, Emperor of Rome, having depopulated some of the conquered countries through the demand made for men for service in the armies of the Empire, endeavoured to form colonies in the exhausted countries

by locating captives and fugitives. He gave them lands and agricultural instruments, under the hopes of creating a settlement of agricultural and industrious people, and a population to supply soldiers for the service of the Roman Empire. With this object, it is stated, there were repeatedly made in England settlements of South Germans, Alamannic or Bavarian tribes. Mr. Seebolm, in his book on *Village Communities*, when speaking of the termination "ing", "ingas", in the plural to the names of places, says: "That the founders of the termination came from the German forests and mountains; that it implies a permanent settlement, and also, that Roman rule was the outside influence which compelled the abandonment of a semi-nomadic and the adoption of the settled form of life." Professor William Arnold also says the patronymic suffix "ingen", the plural of "ing", is one of the distinctive marks of settlements of Alamannic and Bavarian tribes." We have, therefore, reliable information as to when, probably, and by whom the village of Epping was established. For the name Epping is evidently the outcome of "Up-ings", like our Uplands, and denotes the dwelling-place in the hills or Uplands, in contradistinction to the places in the valleys. Besides the demand for soldiers in the Imperial armies, the settlements of colonies of a foreign nationality in a country afforded a supply of men who had their own lives and property imperilled by the revolt of the natives, near at hand to assist in extinguishing the first spark of rebellion. By what little we know of the Trinobantes they appear to have been a warlike race; and perhaps it thus arises that there are so many settlements on the road, or near to it, as it proceeds to Dunmow, or through Chelmsford to the coast, etc., having "ing" for the termination of their names. The parish adjoining Epping in the Uplands is Nazing; not far from the British camp Wallabury is Sheering. Between Dunmow and Fyfield, where the bronze in large quantity was found, are several Rodings. There is also Matching, and near to Colchester, Bocking, and other places ending in "ing". It seems, therefore, as if, from some cause, the German colonies were pretty freely sprinkled over Essex. It is certainly a convenient county for forming settlements of immigrants from the Continent.

If the Alamannii came down the river Rhine, Harwich, or Colchester, or Maldon, were the most convenient ports at which to land them in England.

Referring again to the bronze instruments, Mr. Thomas Wright, in his work, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, says that the stock of bronze (similar to that at Fyfield) is always found near a Roman road, or in the neighbourhood of a Roman station. A road to Dunmow, supposed to have been Celtic, deriving its name from Du-num, passes through Fyfield, and joins the well-known Roman road from Bishop's Stortford to Colchester. On it, or near it, are eight villages or manors named Roding, having, for the most part, attached to them the names of the families who possessed them at the time of William I's grand Survey of his conquest.

Before he came to England the name was in existence, for the monastery of Ely possessed High or Great Roding, and Aythorp Roding. The name Roding is derived from the river Roden, and the whole district is fertile, and called the Rodings. Morant says that some have thought the name to have been derived from British words, *Yr Odr*, meaning the boundary. He, however, repudiates the idea on account of the smallness of the stream; but we cannot tell how broad or deep it was when the Celtic people lived on its shores. Accepting as correct Professor Arnold's and Mr. Seebold's statement that the termination "ing" to a place-name denoted the settlement of Alamannic or German colonies, we have quite a nest of such settlements in the vicinity of Fyfield, and Dunmow, situated on the road marked on maps "Stanway"—an important means of communication between *Colonia* (Colchester) and *Verulamium* (St. Albans).

At how early a date the manufacture of bronze instruments was established in England seems open to disputation; Mr. Wright maintains that it is no earlier than the Roman occupation, and supports his arguments by the circumstance already mentioned, that heaps of metal, often consisting of broken instruments only, are always found in localities where the Romans had established their powers. At Havering, not very far from Epping, there has been found a hoard of broken

bronze metal, and as its name has “ing” for its termination, the suggestion arises that it was under Roman control.

In conclusion, I may mention Sir John Evans states that on more than one block of metal found in England are inscriptions in Roman characters. Metal weapons were in use by the people before the Romans occupied the country. Cæsar says they obtained their bronze from abroad, probably swords and daggers. They obtained from Gaul ivory bracelets, necklaces, glass, and other small articles. It is, however, foreign to the object of my paper to discuss when and from whence bronze was introduced into England. Thomas Wright, Sir John Evans, and others, have made prehistoric instruments a subject of their studies; to their able writings I must, therefore, refer those who are interested in the question.

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(Continued from p. 86.)

WEDNESDAY, 2ND AUGUST.

This day the members left Winchester by the 8.25 train for Fareham. Here, at ten o'clock, a start was made for Titchfield, where the church was visited. The Rev. R. A. R. White, M.A., gave a description of the church. He called attention to the Norman west door, the consecration crosses, and Wykeham's work, etc. Two frescoes—one over the chancel arch, and the other at the west end—were quite modern. The chancel arch was late Norman. Going on to give a few details concerning the parish, the Vicar spoke of the many finds of interest to antiquaries in the way of implements and coins. The visitors examined the five monuments to Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton, and his wife, and his son, the second Earl. The Vicar mentioned the curious fact that the bodies were buried in a fluid. The tomb was erected by the third Earl, the friend and patron of Shakespeare. Mr. Brock expressed his belief that the tower was a portion of a Saxon building, and the rest of the church Norman work. The Rector also showed a piece of the Communion plate left to the church in 1673 by Thomas Corderoy.

At Place House the Rev. G. W. Minns, LL.B., F.S.A., read a paper on "Place House", which it is hoped will be printed in the *Journal* at a future time, he having, by permission of Colonel Delme, the present owner, made explorations and investigations on the spot. The paper was illustrated by views of Place House at different periods.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Rev. G. W. Minns, on the proposition of Mr. Allan Wyon.

Luncheon was served at the Red Lion Hotel, Fareham.

A drive of half-an-hour brought the visitors to the Norman church standing in the enclosure of Porchester Castle. The Rev. J. Vaughan, M.A., the Vicar, gave information with regard to the church, which he said was thought by some to occupy the site of an old Roman temple, although there was no evidence in support, and nothing was known of the church till they came to the Norman period. It was a church or

chapel of the Austin friars founded by Henry I. During the troublous period of Stephen's reign the monks found that enclosure no fit place for spiritual devotions, and they retired to Southwick. The font of the church was celebrated, and he thought showed signs of Saracenic work. It was entirely owing to the exertions and good common-sense of his predecessor, the Rev. A. A. Headley, now Rector of Alresford, that they saw the nave of the Norman church in its present almost perfect condition. The windows were entirely Norman, and the west front was an exceedingly fine specimen of a Norman west front. The new oak pulpit was designed by the son of the distinguished Dean of Winchester, and was carved by the firm of Messrs. Thomas and Co.

Mr. Brock called attention to the carving of the doorway of the west front, much of which was of later Norman work than the doorway, added to older work.

The Rev. G. N. Godwin dwelt on the antiquity of the neighbourhood in which they were, and recalled the associations of Porchester Castle, and its use in later years as a place of confinement for the French prisoners of war.

The visitors then walked round the enclosure, and were admitted to the field on the Portsmouth Harbour side, from which a capital view of the massive walls of the Castle was to be obtained. Several also ascended the keep, noticing on the way up the names of French prisoners cut in the wall.

At the evening meeting the chair was occupied by Mr. T. F. Kirby, M.A., F.S.A. At the commencement of the proceedings Mr. Allan Wyon expressed regret that the Mayor was absent, owing to a return of his illness; a return which it was feared was brought about by his great kindness in being with the Association on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, when, for health's sake, he should have been at home resting. Mr. Wyon placed on the table some objects of interest forwarded by the Mayor and Dr. Earle.

The Chairman, as Bursar of Winchester College, submitted the following interesting deeds and seals:—

1. Henry de Blois, 1129-71—Confirmation of Bishop Giffard's grant of a hyde of land to monks of St. Andrew's Priory, Hamble.

2. John de Pontoise, 1280-1304—Release to John de Wandelesworth of all services due to the Bishop in respect of two hydes of land at Bishop's Sutton, on condition of paying a relief of two marks on the accession of every new Bishop.

3. Henry Woodlock, 1304-16—Grant to William Gervais and Cristina his wife of lands and tenements in Ropley, rendering 13*s.* 4*l.* rent to the Bishop, and 3*s.* to every Bishop on his accession, and 3*s.* to the King on every avoidance of the See.

4. William Edyngton, 1345-63—Letter of attorney appointing

William of Wykeham, clerk, his proxy to receive seisin of land at Meonstoke. 10 Nov. 1353.

5. William of Wykeham, 1363-1404—Award of the Bishop that the Prior (Robert Rodeburn) and Convent of St. Swithun at Winchester shall pay the corrodies due to the sequestrator of Hamble Priory, which the monks had withheld. Dated at Esher, 24 July 1394.

6. Richard Fox, 1500-28—Lease to Warden and Fellows of Winchester College for 99 years of lands in Ropley. Dated Jan. 9, 20 H. VII.

7. Thomas Cooper, 1580-3—Lease to Warden and Fellows of Winchester College for 99 years of Stoke Park. Dated Feb. 7, 31 Eliz.

Mr. Wyon, F.S.A., then read a paper on "Seals of the Bishops of Winchester", which will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Walter Bailey (Town Clerk) moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Allan Wyon, and in so doing expressed the interest he (Mr. Bailey) took in the visit of the Association to Winchester. On the occasion of the former visit of the Association, his father, who was at the time Town Clerk, filled the position he then occupied as one of the hon. secretaries of the meeting.

Mr. Allan Wyon, in replying, gave additional particulars with regard to the seals shown by Mr. Kirby:

A paper was then contributed by Dr. Phené, F.S.A., on "The Tumuli of Hampshire", which it is hoped may find a place in the *Journal*.

Dr. Phené acknowledged the valuable assistance he had received from Dr. Henry Woodward, F.R.S., Professor Rupert Jones, F.R.S., and other gentlemen, on questions of the conditions of certain metals, and other points connected with their special studies.

A vote of thanks was accorded Dr. Phené for his able paper, and a similar compliment was passed to Mr. Kirby for presiding.

THURSDAY, 3RD AUGUST.

On Thursday the morning was passed at Romsey Abbey, a party leaving Winchester by the 10.17 train. Rev. J. Yarborough, M.A., the Vicar, received the visitors, and after a few remarks gave way to the former Vicar, Rev. E. L. Berthon, M.A., who followed with an account of works carried out by him, and of the many valuable points with regard to the building which he discovered in the course of the many years he was in charge. He expressed a belief that the founder of the noble Abbey was none other than Henry I, who came to fetch his bride from the convent at Romsey. It was finished in the Norman part by Mary, the only daughter of King Stephen. Mr. E. P. L. Brock pointed out that there had been a Saxon church on the site from time immemorial.

The members returned to Winchester at two o'clock, and shortly after three met at the County Hall. Mr. J. Robinson, C.E., county

surveyor, gave a few details with regard to the architecture of the great hall, and the Rev. G. N. Godwin, B.D., recalled some of the historical incidents associated with the Castle of Winchester and its hall. The remains of one of the towers and the moat were viewed.

On the way down the High Street, to visit St. John's Church, a halt was made at Messrs. Dyer and Son's, and permission obtained to inspect the vaulted crypts under the premises. At the church, the Vicar, the Rev. H. C. Dickins, M.A., was in waiting, and gave particulars as to the quaint old church and its somewhat unusual shape—apparently intended for a square. The screen was probably of the fourteenth century; the Jacobean pulpit was at one time occupied by Bishop Ken, and Wykeham's scholars used the church before the completion of the College chapel. What must have been the unusual size of the rood-loft was remarked by the visitors. Thence the party walked to St. Bartholomew Hyde, where the Rev. Canon Humbert, M.A., the Vicar, acted as guide, and Mr. Park Harrison, M.A., made a few remarks with reference to a supposed Saxon stoup.

From the church the party went to view the few fragments that remain of the once famous Hyde Abbey.

Votes of thanks were accorded to the gentlemen who took charge of the party at each of the three places visited during the afternoon.

At the evening meeting Mr. T. F. Kirby, M.A., F.S.A., again presided.

Mr. W. H. Jacob (Winchester) read a paper entitled "Some Notes on the Plague in Winchester", which it is hoped will find a place hereafter in the *Journal*.

In reply to Col. Lambert, F.S.A., Dr. Langdon gave a few particulars as to the characteristics of the plague, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Jacob.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., had prepared a paper on the Cathedral Font, portions of which (in his absence) were read by Mr. Brock. The paper is printed above at pp. 17-27.

Mr. Lynam read a paper prepared by Dr. Joseph Stevens, giving an account of the discovery of a Saxon burial-place near Reading, during the process of widening the line of the Great Western Railway. This is printed at pp. 149-57.

Votes of thanks were accorded the writers of both the foregoing papers.

FRIDAY, 4TH AUGUST.

A large party reached Southampton Docks by nine A.M., where they were met by Mr. T. W. Shore and Mr. W. Dale. Proceeding at once to the Bargate, Mr. Shore explained the stages of its architecture, and succeeded in piloting the party safely underneath it. Then, taking

them inside, he spoke of its historical associations, and told, to the great delight of the ladies, the story of Sir Bevois and the giant Ascupart. Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., expressed a hope that the Corporation would have the portraits of these worthies judiciously cleaned. Passing down Bargate Street, the towers and walls were pointed out, and the Norman vault entered and its use explained. Then the Norman house was visited, and its story told. Interest was aroused by this building, and several architects expressed themselves more pleased with this than anything they had yet seen. Passing up Blue Anchor Lane, St. Michael's Church was entered and described by Mr. Shore. The two debatable points—the tower arches and the font—came in for a share of attention. The latter was pronounced Byzantine, and after examining the tower arches, Mr. Loftus Brock gave his verdict that they were Saxon, for two reasons—their extreme simplicity and the manner of dressing the stones.

The party repaired to the Municipal Offices at 11 o'clock, where they were met by the Mayor (Mr. J. Lemon, J.P.) in his parlour, which, however, proved hardly sufficiently large to accommodate them. His Worship, however, in welcoming them, said he was glad to see them assemble in such goodly numbers. He hardly expected to see more than twenty or thirty, otherwise he should have asked them to go into the Council Chamber. The town was possessed of some interesting records, and it was gratifying to find that it possessed many features of archaeological interest, more especially with regard to its old town walls and the remains of old buildings. His Worship then invited Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, F.S.A., to show those assembled the three ancient books before them, which that gentleman at once proceeded to do, first of all giving their names—the Oak, the Oaths, and the Black. With regard to the Oak Book, it was hardly safe to do much more than open it; but its contents chiefly related to the ordinances of the guild merchants, in French, and which had already been printed in the Society's *Journal*. The Black Book was not so named because anything terrible was implied in it, but it formed really the chief memorandum-book in regard to the transfer and tenure of land. The title of the Oaths Book implied its purpose. Then there was an enormous number of charters and documents connected with the town in the possession of the Corporation. The Oaths Book went back to about the reign of Edward II.

Mr. T. W. Shore, pointing to the silver oar on the table, explained that it was emblematical of the dignity of the Mayor of Southampton as Admiral of the Port; and Col. Lambert followed with some interesting remarks on the Corporation maces. He took one of them to be of about the time of Charles II, and a smaller one to be somewhat older; but the small silver maces which were exhibited in a case were considerably older, and in days long since gone by were very potent in the hands of

a sheriff's officer, who on one occasion succeeded in bringing someone back from the Cape of Good Hope who was "wanted", and who received a very long punishment. The early maces exhibited went back to a very long period—certainly from the time of Edward I down to the time of Henry V—and it was almost certain that it was due to one of those maces that the arrest took place, near or at the King's Yard, of Scroope, De Lisle, and Cambridge for conspiracy. The Earl of Cambridge, Earl Scroop, and Lord De Lisle are buried in the Huguenot Church of St. Julien, in this town.

Mr. Wyon, F.S.A., Treasurer to the Association, said that before leaving that building he should like to express the thanks of the British Archaeological Association to the Mayor for the kind reception which they had accorded them. Before they came to Southampton they expected to see a great deal, and they had not been disappointed. They had had pointed out to them, in St. Michael's, something which was claimed to be of Saxon origin, while at the Bargate they saw an old Norman arch, and afterwards had various objects of later dates continuously pointed out to them, bringing them down to events which occurred as recently as one hundred years ago, when George III, whose statue on the Bargate was shown to them, came down to Southampton and was entertained there. Mr. Wyon wished specially to express the thanks of the Association to the Corporation for the care which they took of the ancient buildings which remained, and more particularly for preserving those old town walls which they had been examining that day, and which, he understood, about forty years ago it was proposed to sweep away. He had been further delighted by hearing that there was some proposal for maintaining the Bargate in such a way that by having roads on either side of it it could still be used as a Court of Justice without any interference with the traffic which now passed beneath it. He could only repeat that they felt deeply indebted to the Mayor for the kind reception he had given them.

The expression of thanks having been accorded with acclamation, the Mayor, in reply, said there was a sincere desire on the part of the Corporation to preserve what he might call the ancient landmarks, and he did not think that there was any chance of the Bargate, although it was an obstruction, being removed. They would get over the difficulty some day, no doubt, by having a road round it; but of course that was a matter he could not deal with now, and, moreover, it was a financial question of some magnitude. He would like to point out that they had a list of Mayors, Sheriffs, and Bailiffs of the town extending back to the year 1237. He believed the first Mayor was appointed about 1217, but he fancied that the inhabitants got tired of him after he had occupied the position for about twenty years.

He did not know that there was any town except London—and perhaps Winchester—which had a better record.

Mr. Shore said the name of one of the early Mayors carried them back to the time of the Crusades, and indicated the trade of Southampton with Palestine. The party then inspected the Council Chamber, and left to carry out the remainder of the day's programme.

After leaving the Municipal Offices, Mr. Shore conducted the party down to the West Gate and described it. Then the beautiful garden of Madame Mæs was entered, and the quaint house much admired. The old guard-house was visited. Mr. A. Wyon expressed the thanks of the Association to Madame Mæs. The remainder of the morning was occupied at the wool house, St. Julien's Church, God's House gate, and the south-eastern tower, not forgetting Henry VIII's gun on the platform. Luncheon was partaken of at the Royal Hotel, after which Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., expressed the thanks of the Association to the members of the Hants Field Club for their valuable assistance, and especially to Mr. Shore. That gentleman briefly replied.

At two o'clock Netley Abbey was visited, where Rev. G. W. Minns, LL.B., F.S.A., took up the tale, and most exhaustively dealt with its history and its beauties. Mr. C. Lynam dealt with the architecture, and particularly admired the Chapter House, which he said must have been singularly beautiful. Bitterne Manor was reached at a quarter to five. Sir Steuart and Lady Maenaughten received the party just as rain began to fall. In an upper room a museum of Roman antiquities was laid out, on which Sir Steuart Maenaughten and Mr. Shore spoke, and Mr. A. H. Skelton dealt with the coins. Subsequently tea was kindly provided, and when the rain ceased some went to the summer-house to see the inscriptions there. A cordial vote of thanks to Sir Steuart and Lady Maenaughten was proposed by Mr. A. Wyon, F.S.A., and the party left again for Winchester soon after six.

At the evening meeting, held at the Guildhall, Winchester, the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester, D.D., F.S.A., presiding, papers were read by the Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, F.S.A., on "The Black Book of Southampton" and "The Andover Town Records", and by Mr. Norman Nisbett on "The Churches of Chilecombe Manor".

The following is a résumé of the papers read by the Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck :—

The Black Book of Southampton.—The Corporation of Southampton has among its records no less than 504 MS. books and 58 charters and letters patent. Amongst the most important of these are the Oak Book, so called from the stout boards in which it is bound, one of which has a hole to put the hand through. It contains an old French version of the ordinances of the gild merchant, a list of chartered towns, the extended tables of the assize of bread, a list of customs, etc. Two

interesting merchants' marks are cut on the cover. The Black Book derives its name from the colour of its cover. It is the chief book of important memoranda through the period occupied by the reigns of the sovereigns from Richard II to Elizabeth. It was esteemed of so much importance that not only was it ordered to be kept in a chest with three locks, but it was a matter of great moment to obtain the enrolment of wills and other deeds in it. The number of entries relating to the transfer of land is very large, and so many particulars are given that it would be easy to make from it a map of Southampton as it was in the time of Henry V, and to name a large number of the chief inhabitants who watched his departure for Agincourt through the West Gate. The wills entered in it give many features of the churches in the town; and a copy of a very early transfer of "Serlei" into other hands is especially interesting, as is a lease of the Water Tower. The sign manual of Henry VII occurs on a paper connected with a Treaty of Commerce with the Archduke of Austria. It is remarkable that the entries in this book are by no means consecutive in date, and that there are a great many pages at the end which are blank.

The Monuments of Andover.—Andover tells its own history by its monuments. A series of receipts were selected for the subject of this paper because they involved in the smallest compass the reference to so many features of the past. The town of Andover derived possession of the manor and hundred from charters, the earliest of which is copied in the Black Book of Southampton, and it had its gild merchant from the same King, Henry II; but there is much to suggest an organization of the gild from as far back as the Council at Greatly, A.D. 930, and the theory was supported by reference to the map of Andover, which shows enclosed in the larger parish a smaller one known as Knight's Enham, which it was suggested might be Cnitenham. The charters of King John defined the fee farm rent at £100 a year, and the receipts spoken of were for this sum from Margaret, widow of Edward I, Edmund Earl of Kent, and his widow, Margaret Countess of Kent; after whose time a gap occurs, and the payment was broken up into various sums, one of which was for long in the possession of the Queen, having been part of the jointure of Joan of Navarre, second wife of Henry IV. The other part came to Henry VIII through his "grandam", Margaret Countess of Richmond. The venerable Margaret Countess of Salisbury was among the owners, as were also Henry VIII, Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland, Lady Elizabeth Neville, and, in 1593, William, third Marquis of Winchester. The town still pays quit rent, though it seems impossible to trace the sums. The present owners of these quit rents are Lord Scarsdale, Lord Bolton, and Mr. Duncan.

Mr. N. C. H. Nisbett, A.R.I.B.A., contributed a paper on "The Churches of Chilcombe Manor", which will be printed hereafter.

After the discussion upon the papers it was proposed by Mr. Wyon, and seconded by Mr. Kirby, and unanimously resolved :—

“That this Congress Meeting of the British Archaeological Association, assembled at Winchester, desires to express its devoted loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and its respectful, humble thanks for the favour of Her Majesty's most gracious patronage of its Jubilee Meetings”¹

In the same way the two following resolutions were also unanimously passed :—

“That this Meeting records its best thanks to the Right Honourable the Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I., for his services as President of this Congress.”

“That this Meeting expresses its best thanks to the Vice-Presidents and Local Committee, who have contributed to the success of the instructive and interesting Congress of the British Archaeological Association, now drawing to its close, at Winchester. It particularly wishes to record its thanks to the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester, D.D.; the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Winchester, J.P.; the Bursar of Winchester College, M.A.; and the Honorary Secretaries, Walter Bailey, Esq., Town Clerk, and R. D. Cancellor, Esq.”

SATURDAY, 5TH AUGUST.

This day was occupied with a visit to Basingstoke, and to the site of Old Basing House, and the party there found extensive earthworks, enclosing a circular area with very deep ditches; the banks, from which the buildings once erected on them have been removed, remain not far from their original condition. It would seem that there must have been here an ancient British settlement of importance, within signalling distance of other ancient sites. Dr. Andrews explained the relation of the early sites to one another, and the Roman roads in the locality. In later times the Normans occupied the site, and Basing Castle is frequently spoken of in mediæval records.

Rev. G. N. Godwin described the ruins to the party, and related the story of the Basing House during the civil wars. A visit was then made to Old Basing Church, which suffered severely in the siege. Its present condition indicates, to some degree, the extent of the injuries that it received. It is remarkable for the large number of armorial bearings of the Paulett family and their connections, which appear as ornaments to the windows. At Basingstoke the old maces and regalia

¹ Copies of these resolutions, engrossed on vellum, and beautifully illuminated, and placed in red morocco cases, have been forwarded to Her Majesty the Queen and the Earl of Northbrook, from whom gracious and courteous acknowledgments have been received.

of the Corporation were on view by the courtesy of the Mayor. The church is a large building, erected in the light and lofty style of the beginning of the sixteenth century, the chancel being more ancient. A visit was then paid to the ruins (which are so well known to travellers along the South Western Railway) of the Chapel of the Holy Ghost. But the most conspicuous portions are those of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, formerly attached to it.

The closing meeting of the Congress was held at the Guildhall, Winchester, in the evening; Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., presided, and the following papers were read:

"Old Records in Lambeth Palace, relative to the Diocese and the Channel Islands," by S. W. Kershaw, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Librarian of Lambeth Palace. (See pp. 28-43.)

"Prehistoric Flint Implements found on the South Downs," by W. Hayden, Esq. (See pp. 131-138.)

"Skull-Goblets," by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

"Hamble Priory," by B. D. Cancellor, Esq.

Proceedings of the Association.

21ST MARCH 1894.

ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

REV. H. J. DUCKINFIELD-ASTLEY, M.A., Parkfield, South Fields, S.W.,
was duly elected a member of the Association.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective
donors of the following presents :—

To the Society, for "Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and
Natural History Society," vol. xvi, 1894.

" " for "Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the
Smithsonian Institution." July 1891.

To the Editor, for "Illustrated Archaeologist," vol. i, Part IV.

Mr. D. Lloyd, read a paper on the "Origin of the Parochial
System", which it is hoped will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a tracing of a
figure of St. Felix, from the north window of Blythborough Church,
Suffolk, communicated by Mr. Hamlet Watling of Ipswich.

Mr. Birch also read a paper by Mr. J. T. Irvine, entitled "Plans of
Discoveries lately made in the Nave of Repton Church, Derbyshire."

WEDNESDAY, 4TH APRIL 1894.

ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

Frank George, Esq., 8 Randall Road, Clifton, was duly elected a
member of the Association.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective
donors of the following presents :—

To the Society of Antiquaries of London, for "Proceedings," Second
Series, vol. xiv, No. 4; and "Archæologia," Second Series,
vol. iii.

To the Society, for the "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland," vol. iv, Part I.

" " for "Rapport sur les Fouilles pratiquées et à pratiquer à Alexandrie, par le Dr. G. Batté, Conservateur du Musée d'Alexandrie," issued by the Archaeological Society of Alexandria.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited a carved face of sycamore wood, found in an Egyptian tomb, and originally forming part of an outer mummy case. Mr. Oliver also exhibited a bronze lamp of the Roman style, a terra-cotta lamp of ancient date, and two pairs of bronze handles from Greco-Roman vases.

Mr. Wells exhibited a money-box of curious design in earthenware, highly glazed, with splashes of various colours; it possesses four handles, and four small slits to admit the coins. It was thought by some of the members to be of Corean origin, and not very old.

Dr. Benjamin Winstone read a paper on "Prehistoric Instruments found in Essex", and exhibited an almond-shaped stone hammer-head, with a central circular hole to receive the handle, and a bronze dagger-blade with rivets for the handle, which was now missing. It has been printed in the *Journal*, and the objects illustrated in it. (See pp. 158-168.)

Dr. A. Fryer sent the following note:—

"*Preservation of Ancient Monuments—St. Piran's Oratory.*—It is always a pleasure to record the preservation of ancient monuments, and the care which has been expended in protecting the ruins of the ancient Oratory of St. Piran, situated in the sandhill to the north of Penanporth, Cornwall, deserves our thanks.

"In August 1892, the Rev. C. E. Meeres, vicar of Perranzabuloe, Mr. J. C. Danbuz, and Major Parkyn, took the necessary steps for initiating the work of saving this valuable ruin of a fifth century rural church from premature destruction. A sum of more than £40 was collected, and the little Oratory is now enclosed with a strong iron railing, let into blocks of granite firmly sunk into the sand-bed, and of sufficient height to prevent intrusion. The sand inside the ruin has been removed, and the concrete floor, with low stone seating running round three sides of the building, exposed. The rough stones of the old altar tomb are replaced as nearly as possible in their original positions, and for the purpose of protection are covered with the granite slab introduced by the Rev. William Haslam, fifty years ago."

Mr. Birch read a paper by Dr. Fryer, entitled "Notes on American Tumuli", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH APRIL 1894.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

William Holmes, Esq., Curzon Park, Chester, was duly elected a member of the Association.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents:—

To Rev. W. C. Winslow, D.D., D.C.L., for "The Pilgrim Fathers in Holland", Boston and Chicago; and for "The Queen of Egyptology—Amelia B. Edwards."

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Session of 1892-3, vol. xxvii. Edinburgh. 1893.

" " " for "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles," tome VIII, livr. ii; 1 avr. 1894; and "Bulletin Historique," 42e an. 168 livr.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the Congress at Manchester would, in all probability, commence on Monday, July 30th, subject to approval by the President and the Local Committee.

Miss Swann, of Oxford, exhibited a photograph of an ancient carving, which was accompanied with the following:—

" I send a photograph of a roughly carved stone, which has been built into the outer north wall of the nave of the church at Clifton Hampden, Oxfordshire. It has evidently, at some time, formed a portion of a tympanum. It is about 4 ft. in length, and has never, I believe, been figured. The subject appears to be a wild boar attacking with his tusk an ass, behind which stands a man dressed in a short tunic, and with uplifted hands; beneath the boar is a human head or skull, and a second ass is on the left side of the man. In the *Antiquary* of November 1893 (page 189) a sketch is given of a somewhat similar stone, built into the south wall of the church of Tutbury, Staffordshire, but, in this example, the boar is not the attacking party, but is himself attacked by dogs. Clifton Hampden Church is most beautifully situated on the Thames, a few miles from Oxford; it has some good Norman work remaining."

Mr. J. W. Bodger, of Peterborough, sent for exhibition some curious objects of burned clay, with the following descriptive note:—

" No. 1. Brick found of sun-dried clay, and containing pieces and marks of stubble, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, gradually tapering to $\frac{3}{4}$ in., 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep or thick, square headed, the base slightly pointed; weight, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, found 8 ft. deep, together with several fragments of the

same class of brick (which had been carted away with the soil and rubbish, and which I could not recover,—one such was saved by the workman to sharpen his knife on), in the angle formed by the north-east corner of the cathedral (*i.e.*, by the junction of the nave with the transept), April 18, 1893. Six stone coffins were also found lying direct east and north. Three were opened, and contained bones only, so the other three were left undisturbed; also one coffin-lid carved on both sides, all buried outside the old Saxon church.

"No. 2. Two bricks of similar character to the above, but only about half the size, found with hundreds of others under the bay of the west wall of the north transept of Peterborough Cathedral, immediately north of the arch at the east end of the north aisle of nave. Found in a ditch descending into the rock, and extending east and west in a line in front outside of north wall of nave aisle. This during the internal underpinning of the west wall of transept, 1889.

"No. 3. One of two bricks found by Mr. J. T. Irvine in a ditch at Woodstone, of which no trace remained on the surface, October 1884.

"What were these used for? Is it not highly probable that they were used for sowing the ground as a means of defence for tripping the enemy, when an attack was made on the old Saxon church of Peterborough, which would in part account for the great number of small fragments found in the ditch surrounding the stockade? An attack on the Saxon church was made by the Danes from the north side, from Font Hill, and these bricks standing in the ground would serve as a good defence, in the same way that General Gordon surrounded Khartoum with soda-water and other glass bottles."

Mr. Oliver exhibited an oak carving from the Bateman Collection. It is of the fifteenth century, and represents the taking down of Our Lord from the Cross. It was originally preserved in Oakeley Hall, Northamptonshire.

Rev. T. H. Owen, M.A., of Valle Crucis, Llangollen, read a paper on the recent excavations and discoveries on the site of the Cistercian Abbey of Valle Crucis, near Llangollen, in North Wales, which, it will be remembered, was visited during the Congress held at Llangollen in 1877. He exhibited a considerable collection of photographs of the buildings; some interesting specimens of encaustic tiles, and tiles cut in low relief with elegant patterns; an ancient key of curious shape; and also several fragments of coloured glass of destroyed windows of the monastic building; and a skull with a large orifice nearly at the summit of the cranium, bearing evident traces of a severe wound, either inflicted by the hand of an enemy, or the result of a surgical operation during life. It is hoped that this paper will be printed and illustrated in a future part of the *Journal*.

In thanking Mr. Owen for his paper, the Chairman announced that

Mr. Owen had that day been elected an Honorary Corresponding Member of the Association.

Mr. Andreas Cokyane sent a rubbing from a newly discovered pig of lead, with a Roman inscription, found at Matlock. Mr. J. D. Leader, F.S.A., of Sheffield, sent a similar inscription, and Mr. R. D. Hurd, of Portland Grange, Matlock, sent a third example of the same. Upon this interesting relic of Roman times Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., read a few remarks, as follows:—

"Our member, Mr. J. D. Leader, F.S.A., of Sheffield, brings to notice a pig of the highest interest. He writes:—

"A fortunate discovery, near Matlock, of a pig of lead of the Roman period has been made. The find occurred on the 24th March, on the farm of Messrs. Hurd and Son, known as Portland Grange, which lies at a height of about 500 ft. above the valley of the Derwent, to the east of the turnpike road running from Matlock to Chesterfield.

PRVBRI·ABAS&T·M·EALLI·LVTVDARES ·

Inscription on Leaden Pig recently found at Matlock.

Messrs. Hurd have been for several years engaged in reclaiming this land, which they purchased of the Duke of Portland, and are bringing it into cultivation. On 24th March one of their labourers, in trenching a piece of the rough to a depth of about 2 ft., struck with his spade what proved to be a pig of lead. It lay face downwards, and when got out was found to bear a very finely lettered Latin inscription in raised letters, $1\frac{1}{6}$ in. in depth. It reads thus:—

PRVBRI : ABASCALFITMETALLI : LVTVDARES.

"The letters CAL, FIT, and ET are ligatures, but the lettering is perfectly clear. The pig weighs 175 lb. It has sloping sides, and measures along the base $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., along the summit $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. The end measurement is: base, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.; summit, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Depth, $4\frac{1}{6}$ in.

"In the latter part of the last century three pigs of lead were found in this neighbourhood—one on Matlock Moor, very near the present find, which for some years belonged to Adam Woolley, Esq., and is now in the British Museum. On each of these pigs occur the letters MET. LVD or METAL. LVTVD. Various conjectures were made as to the meaning of these contractions, but Mr. Hurd's inscription gives the words in full. The earlier part of the inscription gives us the name of the mine owner or merchant, with words following on which we do not venture as yet to record our conjectures, awaiting with interest the opinion of learned epigraphists. Messrs. Hurd deserve the highest praise for the manner

in which they have taken care of the treasure that so unexpectedly fell into their hands.'—*Sheffield Independent*, April 3, 1894.

"Mr. Leader sends also a pull from a stereotype cast, which he places at our disposal. I am, however, unable to accept the reading given above, and propose to read :

P. RYBRI . ABASCANTI . METALLI . LVTVDARES.

"There is no stop in the cast after p, but from the analogy of L. Aruconi Verecundi, on the Matlock Moor pig, and c. IVL PROT on that found at Hargrave Park, near Mansfield, co. Nottingham, and now in the British Museum, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that the owner or farmer of the lead mines was of noble or patrician rank, and rejoiced in a full triad of names. At the same time it may be preferred that his first name should be read *Prubri*. After the c in the next name is a monogram, formed of an a without horizontal bar for a, and a vertical down-stroke joined to it, making with it, in my opinion, an n. The following capital t has the vertical stroke prolonged above the bar, and I read it as *ti*. We thus get the word ABASCANTI; but if the n is rejected the down-stroke may be an i or l, neither of which, however, appears to be so suitable a reading. The use of the genitive form in this name is in accordance with the evident rule followed in the two cases mentioned above, of L. Aruconus Verecundus, and C. Julius Protus. The pigs which bear the names of the emperors, viz., Nero, Vespasian, Hadrian, Antoninus, and Verus, give these names (when at length) in the genitive case, except in one instance, where the dative, "Domitiano caesari" is found.

"The second portion of the inscription reads METALLI LVTVDARES. The et of the first word is a monogram formed by prolongation of the vertical line of the e upwards, and adding the bar of the t, after the manner usually found on ligatures in Roman epigraphy. The second l is small, and enclosed, so to speak, in the first, which is of full size. In the second word it is noticeable that the t between the two v's is carried up above the line.

"Mr. Leader, to whom I communicated my observation on the reading *abascanti*, says in reply :—

"I have been writing a longer account, but have not yet published it, pending the preparation of a zinc drawing. The inscription, though clear as to lettering, is rather puzzling—particularly the monograms. Your suggestion, 'abascantus', seems scarcely to dispose of the 'cal fit'. Then there is the difficulty of the genitive singular, 'metalli', with the nominative plural 'Lutudares.' As regards the position of Lutudarum, it is worthy of note that the site of the present find, and those on Matlock Moor (Hübner, C. I. L., Nos. 1214 and 1215), and the one on Cromford Nether Moor (No. 1208), are all within a narrow area. There are traces of lead working, both ancient and modern, all around, and it

is reported of No. 1214 that it was found near a hole or open hearth, and heaps of slag. Wirksworth has long been a centre for Derbyshire lead mining, but I do not know of any Roman remains there.'

"The fixing of locality of the *Metalli Lutudares*, if it could be ascertained, would be an interesting addition to our knowledge of Romano-British sites. *Metallus* is a synonym of *metallum*. The itineraries give no help. The *Lutudaron Mansio*, or town of the *Lutudares*, is mentioned by Lysons as on the road between Deva (Chester) and Ratæ (Leicester). [Hübner, *C. I. L.*, vii, 1208]. But this is vague. There are three sites which might be intended, each of which appears to contain a corrupt form of the primeval word—(1) Ludlow in Salop; Loughborough in North Leicestershire, on the border of the great forest of Charnwood, and Ludgerhall on the Watling Street, in the same county, on the south. Of these, Loughborough seems to be the most likely. It is worthy of notice that pigs bearing *LVT*, are found at Matlock and Wirksworth, co. Derby; Pulborough, Sussex; and Hargrave Park, near Mansfield, Nottinghamshire; and *LVTVD* at Matlock Moor. It would seem, therefore, that the *Metalli Lutudares*, which have furnished about one-third of the whole number of pigs extant, were of capacious output of metal. Of the form of this word in the singular we know nothing as yet; future discoveries will alone decide whether *Lutudas*, *Lutudar*, or *Lutudaris* is the true word. The site has been stated to be 'in finibus Brigantum', a somewhat broad description; and the abbreviations *Lut.*, *Lutud.*, have been conjecturally filled up as *Lutudensia*. These leaden masses are found in many places—Somerset, Derby, Cheshire, Salop, Gloucester, Stafford, Nottingham, Yorkshire, Hampshire, Sussex, which is not unexpected, for Pliny bears testimony to the frequency of lead in Britain, and the Roman knowledge of it.

"The word *CAPASCAS* on a pig of lead has not been explained. But it will be noticed that the second example on the table, inscribed *TR. CL. TR. LVT. BR. EX. ARG.*, a pig of the age of Claudius, found at Matlock, consists of thirty layers; now, as *CAPASCAS* is used with the numeral *xxx* on a specimen of the age of Nero, nearly contemporary with the preceding one, it may be fairly conjectured that *capasca* is the word used for a layer. Whether a native British word with a Latinised form, or a word derived from *capio* and *capaz*, and signifying a certain capacity, I cannot say.

"The phrase *EX ARG.* may mean: taken from or derived from silver ores; or that which is exargentated, and had the silver removed from it. It comes to the same thing in the end, that the lead is pure and has no admixture of silver, as far as the separative processes known to the metallurgists of the time could be carried; that their knowledge in this respect was inaccurate and their methods ineffective, is well known."

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND MAY 1894.

ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman announced the ballot for the officers to be open, and appointed Messrs. J. Romilly Allen and W. E. Hughes to be scrutineers.

The Chairman read the following

ADDRESS.

During the year ending to-day the British Archaeological Association has completed its fiftieth year of existence. Reference was made to this at the Fiftieth Annual Congress, which was held at Winchester at the end of July and the beginning of August last year. That Congress was well attended, the subjects brought under the notice of those present were of much interest, and were ably described and discussed, and the whole proceedings were characterised by a most pleasant and genial spirit.

The *Journal* of the Association has maintained its character during the past year for the variety of subjects treated upon, and for the ability with which these subjects have been dealt with. The number of illustrations has been much increased, thus enhancing the interest of the publication.

Our evening meetings this session have been better attended than for many sessions past, the short social intercourse that now takes place after each meeting enabling the members to talk over various subjects in a useful and agreeable manner.

Whilst thus the Association has various bright and pleasing matters to look back upon during the past year, it has also the melancholy duty of recording the loss of the following members by death:—

The Right Hon. The Earl of Warwick, M.A.

G. Berrey, Esq.

R. S. Holford, Esq.

Herbert New, Esq.

Algernon Peckover, Esq., F.S.A.

The Rev. J. N. Simpkinson, M.A.

The Rev. C. Soames, M.A.

On the other hand the Association has been strengthened by the addition of the following Associates and others to its membership:—

ASSOCIATES.

The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Winchester, D.D.

Edward Arnold, Esq.

The Rev. H. J. Duckinfield-Astley, M.A.
Mrs. Collier.
Alfred J. H. Crespi, Esq.
Wm. G. Ellwell, Esq.
Frank George, Esq.
J. G. Holmes, Esq.
Miss Lambert.
Edward Penton, Esq., F.G.S.
George Henry Turner, Esq.
William W. Wooder, Esq.

HONORARY CORRESPONDENTS.

J. H. MacMichael, Esq.
The Rev. T. H. Owen, M.A.
Mrs. L. C. Skey.
Miss Swann.
J. P. Wilkinsou, Esq.
The Rev. Wm. Copley Winslow, D.D.

The scheme of union with another Archaeological Society, to which I referred at the last General Meeting, has fallen through, the report agreed to by the delegates of both Societies failing to receive the approval of the Council of the other Society. The negotiations were opened by this Association solely at the request of the Council of the other Society, on a basis proposed by them to which the Council of this Association assented; but it appears that although the report of the delegates was in strict harmony with the basis thus proposed, the report itself was never laid before their Council, the majority of their Council having apparently changed their minds as to the proposals which they had made.

We are now looking forward to the Congress to be held this year at Manchester, to which place we have been invited by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of that important city. Better known as Manchester is for its factories, its ship canal, and other marvellous achievements of modern enterprise, its very name shows it to have been of Roman foundation, and it yet has some buildings and other remains of ancient date within its own boundaries; whilst within easy access of the city, lying in many directions all around it, are buildings and places of deep interest to all those who delight in the examination and study of the remains of the past. It is to be hoped that the attendance of the Associates may be so numerous as to make the Manchester Congress as successful and profitable as that which we held in Glasgow in 1888.

The Chairman then read the

TREASURER'S REPORT.

The balance sheet shows an increase in the funds of the Association of £5 4s. 5d. on 31st December last, as compared with the last day of the preceding year. The net balance in favour of the Association on 31st December, 1892 was £80 11s. 3d.; the net balance in favour of the Association on 31st December 1893 was £85 15s. 8d. It is not a large balance, but as it is an increased balance after a year in which so many voluntary Societies like ours have been complaining of greatly diminished support and large deficiencies, it is satisfactory that the balance to the good has not become smaller, but larger. This, too, has been achieved, although the receipts from the annual subscriptions show a decrease. The receipts from sale of publications have increased by about £12, and the proceeds of the Congress at Winchester show an increase of over £28 as compared with that at Cardiff in 1892. The *Journal* of the Association for last year was more fully illustrated than those of the last few preceding years, but the cost of producing the *Journal* did not exceed £7, the sum paid for the same object in 1892, whilst the whole sum was diminished by a special donation of £12, received on account of the illustrations, leaving the net cost of the publication £5 less than in the preceding year. The other items call for no special remark.

ALLAN WYON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

The Report was unanimously adopted.

The thanks of the meeting were unanimously tendered to the Auditors for their services.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1893-4.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archaeological Association, at their annual meeting held this day, the customary Report of the Secretaries on the state of the Association during the past year 1893-4.

1. During the past year a considerable number of works have been presented to the Library. The action of the Library Sub-Committee will determine, or has determined, the future of this property of the Association.

2. Twenty-eight of the more important papers which were read at the recent Congress held at Cardiff, and during the progress of the Session held in London, have been printed in the *Journal* for 1893, which is illustrated with sixty-one plates and woodcuts, many of which have been wholly, or in part, contributed to the Association by the liberality

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DECEMBER 1893.

RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURE.
Balance at Bank of England, 1 Jan. £139 16 7	Liabilities outstanding for 1892, paid off 84 5 4
P. O. Savings Bank 25 0 0	Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i> , £159 17 11
Interest from P. O. Savings Bank 164 16 7	Illustrations to ditto 52 9 6
Annual subscriptions 202 13 0	Miscellaneous printing and advertising 212 7 5
Entrance-fees 6 6 0	Delivery of <i>Journals</i>
Sale of publications 208 19 0	Rent and salaries 13 14 5
Proceeds of Winchester Congress 27 8 8	Stationery, postage, etc. 54 13 0
Donation towards illustrations 73 9 4	At Bank of England, 31 December 118 8 10
	Amount at P. O. Savings Bank 50 13 6
	Less printing account outstanding 169 2 4
	Net balance in favour of the Association 83 6 8
	£489 7 1

Audited and found correct.

(Signed) Cecili T. Davis,
Arthur G. Langdon, ¹ Auditors.
14 April 1894.

of friends and Associates, to whom grateful recognition is due in this behalf.

3. The addition of the copious *Index of Archaeological Papers*, published in 1892, issued under the direction of the Congress of Archaeological Societies, in union with the Society of Antiquaries, enables our readers to extend the field of their researches in a far more widely reading manner than heretofore, and its insertion into our *Journal* will be recognised as of paramount advantage to all interested in the study of antiquities whether general, local, literary, architectural, or scientific.

4. The Honorary Secretaries are glad to say they have in hand a fair amount of papers which relate to the Winchester Congress of 1893, and others read in London, which have been accepted by the Council and Editor for publication and illustration in the *Journal*, as circumstances will permit, they desire it to be more generally known that authors should transmit their papers to the Editor as soon as convenient after being read, in view of their publication in the *Journal* in due course.

W. DE G. BIRCH, }
E. P. L. BROCK, } *Hon. Secs.*

It was unanimously resolved

"That the Secretaries' Report be adopted, and that the best thanks of the Association be presented to Mr. W. de G. Birch and to Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, the Honorary Secretaries, for their unremitting attention to the affairs of the Association during the past year."

Mr. C. H. Compton proposed the following addition to the Rules :—

"If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting."

It was seconded by Mr. Hughes, and carried unanimously.

The usual time having expired, the Chairman closed the ballot, and the scrutators delivered the result as follows :—

President.**Vice-Presidents.**

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; THE LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.	REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.I.A.
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.Z.S.	J. S. PHENE, Esq., LLD., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S.
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.	REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
ARTHUR CATES, Esq.	E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., C.B., F.S.A., D.C.L., LLD.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.	SIR ALBERT Woods, F.S.A., <i>Garter King of Arms</i>
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.	ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.G.S.
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.	
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A unanimous vote of thanks was accorded to the scrutators.

The lists of Honorary and Foreign Correspondents were adopted unanimously.

Votes of thanks were unanimously tendered to Mr. A. Wyon, F.S.A., *Treasurer*, and Mr. S. Rayson, *Sub-Treasurer*, for their services.

The proceedings then closed.

WEDNESDAY, 16TH MAY 1894.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

Charles Evans, Esq., of Lathom Lodge, 97 Loughborough Park, Brixton, was elected an Associate.

The progress of the arrangements for holding the Congress at Manchester was detailed, and many of the places to be visited were mentioned.

Mr. S. F. Wells exhibited a curious article of iron, apparently of Roman date, which was recently discovered in excavating the foundations for some new buildings in Great Swan Alley, City, at a great depth below the modern level. It is of a type occasionally found in England, and specimens have been met with on Roman sites on the Continent. These are known as "horseshoes" by antiquaries, and, like the specimen exhibited, they consist of a flat plate with a curved loop behind, with stubbs and projections in front, the horse's hoof having been supposed to be tied in by thongs attached to the loops.

An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. Barrett pointed out the small size of the interior, large enough only for the foot of a small horse.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, promised to exhibit, at a subsequent meeting, some drawings of the foreign specimens referred to. There are examples in the British Museum, one of which has a horseshoe of ordinary form welded on its lower surface, with gravel still adhering to it. The remarks of Mr. Wells and Mr. Barrett will form the subject of a paper hereafter.

Mr. J. M. Woods described some excavations that had been made, under his direction, for the laying of new pipes for the supply of Colchester with water. Some of these had been laid through the opening of the Roman gateway on the Bailean Hill. Great care had been taken to avoid the ancient foundations, and the works had been carried out without any injury being done to them. Much of the ancient work was found to rest upon rubble-masonry laid dry, and not in mortar. Many fragments of Roman, Samian, and other pottery had been found, some of which were exhibited.

Mr. Barrett reported a discovery which he had made at the Victualling Yard, Deptford. Having seen an old map of the buildings, which appeared to agree with the position of some still in existence, he had paid a visit to determine if any of these were of ancient date. He had found one portion to be of the sixteenth century; and he exhibited

drawing of a window of elegant form, constructed of moulded brick-work, on which were the initials of Henry VIII, and the date 1513.

Mr. Barrett also described a recent visit which he had paid to the Holy Well at Tissington, co. Derby, where he had witnessed some of the decorations placed on the Well annually on Ascension Day. He referred to several other holy wells in various parts of England.

A paper prepared by Miss Russell of Galashiels, on the "Vitrified Forts of Scotland", was then read, in the author's absence, by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock. It is hoped that this will appear in a future part of the *Journal*.

An animated discussion followed, in which Dr. Phené and several others took part. Dr. Winstone pointed out that the salt in seaweed would alone be sufficient to form a binding glaze if burnt; and Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock referred to the two or three examples of vitrified forts which exist at Clifton and in its locality.

The following is the substance of Dr. Phené's remarks. They were illustrated by the exhibition of a curious specimen of red sandstone fused to black trap, from the fort in Brittany referred to.

"In commenting on the paper by Miss Russell, it may be well to give the result of personal observations made by myself, assisted by highly scientific men, on the vitrified forts generally, extending over the largest known area of such works.

"I was attracted to the vitrified forts of Scotland from continually finding them in the vicinity of a class of special works which I was examining, but which time will not now permit me to dilate upon. Suffice it to say that this continual recurrence led to the conclusion that the works I was searching for were by the same people as those who constructed the forts, or by people who drove away, or were driven away, by these fort-builders. The examination took place about thirty years ago, when the forts were in a much more perfect condition than they now are. The mere collection of specimens has much reduced them, to say nothing of the mischief pleasure-seekers delight in. The examination included excavations, tests of the conditions under which the trap-rock fused, and the materials which produced fluxion. The latter were, in most cases, found near at hand. Various kinds of fucoids, some known under the term "kelp", when burned with the basalt, caused a ready flow from the soda and sand which they contained.

"The examination in Great Britain extended over a large portion of the west coast, and some portions of the east coast of Scotland, and southwards to Brittany, in which the largest vitrified fort was located. In the neighbourhood of the last there was found no outcrop of trap, which indicated that the material had been brought by sea. This helped much to clear up a difficulty which had arisen in the examina-

tion. Notwithstanding the complete blending of the trap with sand-stone (so complete as to make the place of junction or contact imperceptible), yet in many cases portions were only partly melted, and in these the trap appeared in an unaltered condition. A peculiarity in these unchanged specimens was noticed: there were certain sharp angulations which were not found in the adjacent local trap dykes, and which did not appear in experimental fusion.

"The impression that the material for the fort in Brittany had been conveyed there, opened the question as to whether these angular parts were not the remains of other basalt than that of the local dykes. In result, the same angulations were obtained in partly fused basalt from the Giant's Causeway and from Staffa. It was assumed from this that the material was brought to the western coasts as being more suitable for the special purpose of the constructors of the so-called 'forts' than the local and less compact trap.

"The columnar basalt on the Nile, between Antæopolis and Tentyra, was commercially valuable for producing fluxion in metals, and the large quantities of copper and other scoriæ still found where the Egyptians sent colonies into Idumæa and Arabia, and evidences of Egyptian smelting-houses on the western flank of Mount Sinai, told that flux in working metals was anciently well known. The precious metals also in the region of Thebes, and the two distinct roads leading to the Natron (soda) Lakes of Libyn, showed the need for the process and the materials for producing it. This article was necessary to produce the basaltic flux. Deserted tracks bordered by ruined brick pyramids, and other signs of once settled life, show wealth to have followed these routes. The Phœnicians traded with all these localities by sea and land.

"I mention these as evidences, as the well-known story by Pliny, of the accidental discovery of vitrification, i.e., ghiss, may be looked upon by some with doubt, though it is easily explained, as the Sidonians took large quantities of fine sand from the Syrian coast (where the story is located) to be used in the glass factories of Sidon and of Egypt; and it is highly probable that the Phœnicians occasionally tested the qualities of the sand, as a guide to their glass-making, to the astonishment of the local people of the coast, from whom, no doubt, the story was derived.

"The point of all this is, that while it is necessary to be cautious not to bridge over a difficulty by the usual popular reference to the Phœnicians, yet, as it was the west coast that the Phœnicians frequented in particular, and as the works I was searching for have all the evidence of Eastern, or rather of African construction, the fact that a people fully acquainted with the process of vitrification did frequent this coast seems of great weight.

"For what purpose these 'forts' were constructed is a distinct question; but a careful collection of facts may indicate a cause. The whole of the western coast of Wales and Scotland is still, and has, no doubt, in early times, been abundantly metalliferous,—lead, tin, gold, copper, have been found and worked for perhaps three thousand years. The rocks in which the metals were found would give up their imprisoned treasure more easily under the effect of fire, and the storage and accumulation of such rocky material before reduction would require considerable space. As the rock was brought, it must have been located somewhere.

"The 'forts' indicate repeated burnings, and my impression is that these circles were depôts for metals, which were continuously reduced by smelting, on the external boundaries of the depôts. This would tend to several other points of interest which came under observation during the examination, the meanings of which were not at the time apparent, and which were only opened up by comparisons, when opportunity permitted, with other similar remains and localities.

"In my paper in a recent number of the *Journal* of the Association I mention the fine specimens of Sidonian glass found by me in the diggings in the mounds in the Troad, which had been cast aside by the excavators, with the soil, in opening the various tumuli. It hardly needed this to show communication between Phœnicia and Troy. Homer mentions many nations as joining the allies in defence of Troy, who were in the highway of Phœnician commerce both by land and sea, and some near the Phœnician border. There are constructions in the Troad and also in Bohemia (in the latter case near similar vitrifications) akin to those I was searching for on the coasts of Scotland; and in addition large quantities of scoriae were found at Hissarlik by Dr. Schliemann, which I examined.

"When I visited the vitrified 'forts' there were quantities of loose pieces which differed materially from the walls, which from their enclosing the inner areas originated the word 'forts'. These fragments were little heeded, being looked on as bad specimens; perhaps detached by earlier examiners, and cast away. The difference between them and the walls was, however, material, as the loose pieces had the appearance of slag. There were also specimens of rude pottery, more or less similar to specimens abounding in the Troad. From the large quantity of scoriae discovered by Schliemann, and the masses of broken pottery, it is apparent that some connection exists between them. The conclusion I arrived at was that much of the coarser pottery formed the remains of crucibles used in smelting. The vitrified 'forts' seem to have been so used; i.e., for locating crucibles for smelting.

"With the exception of the 'fort' in Brittany, which really has the

appearance of a fort, and, moreover, had its granary of wheat, apparently to resist a siego (the corn still remains, burnt into one immense block), the walls of the 'forts' in Scotland were unequal in height, part of one side nearly always being found at a very slight elevation, while the remainder was pretty fairly uniform. The depression would give ready ingress and egress to the interior by bearers of material, whether men or quadrupeds. The burning, for reducing the rock and procuring the flow of metal, may have been on the raised portions, which would, from this cause, gradually increase in height.

"If crucibles were used, with perforations in the sides, the eliminated metal would flow into vessels or moulds for ingots beneath; and the intense heat of the trap-wall, and its acting as a screen from cold winds, would prevent the sudden chill which might stop the stream. For this purpose, as well as others, the form may have been chosen as circular, as affording shelter from cold blasts, so that with varying directions of the wind a sheltered side could always be obtained.

"The insides of the circular walls were generally more upright than the outsides, which were broader in the base, and so gradually upwards, affording facilities to an attacking force, which could by that means easily mount them, rendering them unsuitable for defence; while the constant addition of material for burning would produce that effect outside, as it would be necessary to preserve the vertical line of the interior.

"In the case of separate chambers in one of the 'forts', these might have been for housing the different kinds of the extracted metal.

"The suggestion by an early examiner of these 'forts', that they were natural igneous formations, probably arose from the quantity of scoriae which formerly lay in and about them; the rude pottery, if noticed, being attributed to casual visitors.

"It was a long time before I could see any connection between either of these examples of refuse, and what I then supposed to be remains of articles for domestic use; and probably I should still have come to no conclusion but for the similar evidences in the Troad.

"Sir J. W. Dawson mentions basaltic rock on the same route in Libya. Schweinfurth found a quarried rock of basalt near the Red Sea; and Sir John Evans states that articles of Roman use, formed of basalt from Andernach on the Rhine, are found in England, proving marine transit.

"The specimens which I produce illustrate the principal features I have referred to."

WEDNESDAY, 6TH JUNE 1894.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Stewart F. Wells, Esq., Milestone House, Denmark Hill, was elected a member of the Association.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Association :—

To the Board of Trustees, for "Eleventh Annual Report of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee. 1893."

To the Editor, for "The Illustrated Archaeologist", vol. ii, No. 5.

To the Museum, for "Archivos do Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro", vol. viii. 4to.

To the Smithsonian Institution, for "The Internal Work of the Wind".

By S. P. Langley. 4to.

Mr. Barrett read a short paper on the curious horseshoe of Roman origin, exhibited by Mr. Wells, which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited a large series of rubbings of brasses in St. Alban's Abbey Church, and read notes on them, which will be printed in the *Journal* at a future opportunity. Mr. Oliver also exhibited a triptych of carved ivory, representing the Descent from the Cross, and St. Christopher, apparently of seventeenth century date.

Mr. Barrett described and exhibited sketches of a crypt on St. Lawrence Pountney Hill, close to Merchant Taylors' School, now being demolished.

Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper on "Kirkham Priory and Warden Abbey", which it is hoped will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on the "Discovery of Roman Buildings in Chester", by Mr. Frank Williams, which we hope to print in a following number of the *Journal*.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Story of Egil Skallagrimson an Icelandic Family History of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries. Translated from the Icelandic by the Rev. W. C. Green, Editor of *Aristophanes*, Author of *Homeric Similes*, etc.—The family history here given to the English public (the best comment on which is a recommendation to read it) is bracketed by the translator, as well as some at least of the critics, with the other Saga well known to English readers under the name of *The Story of Burnt Njal*. But while they are both of high merit, as the best of the Icelandic literature is, the resemblance between them does not strike us as very close: in fact, the second title of the present translation is somewhat misleading, for the interest of the story is not in its being Icelandic, but in its being so far Norwegian. It is mainly the history of a powerful Norwegian family who refused, except as far as some individuals were concerned, to accept the supremacy of Harold Fair-hair; but it is in reality a historical work, written between two and three hundred years after the events, by somebody (supposed with probability to be a member of the family) who had the power of selection in a high degree, for he covers a great deal of ground in this small work, and the greater part of it is very curious and interesting.

The Story of Burnt Njal is the opposite to this in many respects, for while there is nothing in the present translation, as the translator truly says, which equals in interest the tragedies to which the other works up, it seems to partake of the nature of an actual record. Not only are the law-pleadings given at great length, but there are pages and pages of proper names and pedigrees which have no immediate bearing on the story; and there is comparatively little, if anything, beyond what concerns Iceland at that place and time, while *The Story of Egil* gives the idea that he and his set must be the ancestors of a large part of Europe. It is expressly said that many famous men were descended from him.

Egil's grandfather, whose name was Ulf, but who is called Kveldulf, withdraws to Iceland, or, rather, dies on the way, his eldest son taking service with Harold. The youngest son, Skallgrim, is one of the early settlers in Iceland,—a farmer on a great scale, and personally an accomplished smith. There is a touch of mythology about the stone (probably an ice-carried boulder) which he was said to have used as his anvil.

The chief peculiarity mentioned in both father and son is that they got up very early in the morning, and looked after their workpeople, and then slept all the evening. The workpeople did not appreciate this at all, and the father's epithet of "Kveldulf" (evening wolf) meant that he got so savage in the evening (presumably when disturbed) that no one liked to go near him then.

Egil, the younger son of Skallagrim, is the remarkable warrior whose adventures fill the latter half of the Saga. Like his father and grandfather, he is very tall and powerful, dark in complexion, and considered plain by his surroundings; but he is quite a different man from either, though the same type of reckless athlete turns up in Britain still, whether or not from the strain of Viking blood. In favourable circumstances, of course, it developed early. Egil's precocity is probably exaggerated, for all the dates are more or less uncertain; but at seven he is said to have killed an older boy with an axe, after a great game at ball. Instead of whipping him well, the two parties to the match met and fought about it, and several men were killed. At about twelve he wants his elder brother, the handsome Thorolf, to take him on a Viking cruise; and when he refuses, because he is so very ill-behaved, he cuts the ship adrift. She is recaptured, and Egil eventually allowed to go in her; and when afloat, his capacity for doing whatever he undertook must have been recognised.

Some of Harold's conquests in Norway are given; but the most important event in the book is the battle of Brunanburg, or Vinheidi, in England. The translator doubts the identity of the two battles, but there seems no reason for this beyond the general doubt about the dates. The writer of the Saga certainly gives no idea of the forces Athelstan had to contend with, being chiefly occupied with the desperate valour of the band of three hundred Vikings in Athelstan's service, brought by Egil and by Thorolf, who is killed in the battle. The Olaf the Red, King of Scots, of the Saga, must be at least four warriors rolled into one. Indeed, the battle was partly about his affairs.

The writer rather attributes the fictitious negotiations which brought about the victory to the advice of the Northern leaders; and it seems likely to be true that Athelstan was anxious that Egil should remain with him. As it is, he goes off apparently because he wants to marry his brother's widow, who had been brought up with him in Iceland. One of the ways in which he plunges into trouble in Norway, where he is not allowed to remain, is about her inheritance. She was the daughter of one of the runaway couples who are known to have established themselves in the Burg of Mousa in Shetland, for which Mossy-town is surely a mistranslation, for there is apparently no room for a town on the small island, and the name is always given as Mosey-urborg. There is an engraving of it (*i.e.*, the drystone tower) in *The*

Illustrated Archaeologist for December 1893. It is possible it may owe its state of comparative preservation partly to Norse repairs.

The daughter, Asgerdr (who seems to have been by no means anxious to marry her formidable brother-in-law) is said to have been a beautiful and clever woman. She managed the property in Iceland during Egil's later absences ; but he gradually settled down more completely than these heroes sometimes did, and eventually died in his bed at an advanced age, as Harold himself had done. A curious bit of character is his desperate grief for a son who was drowned at the age of sixteen. The family seem to have thought him quite capable of starving himself to death.

There is not the slightest appearance in this *Saga* of a preference for violent over natural death, and Egil sends Harold's warriors, not to Valhalla, but to the high hall of Hela, there being no reason, apparently, why a brave man should not go there. In fact, Odinism (as Nilssen calls it) seems to have had but little hold on these Norwegians in Iceland. Half the people mentioned, or at least a large proportion of them, are called Thorolf or Thora, or something of the kind.

Further, though there are many marriages in the book, anything like "marriage by capture" seems entirely unknown to the writer. In one case, of importance to the narrative, the status of the sons depends on whether they can produce evidence that their father had paid an ounce of gold for their mother. This was to her own father. The wedding ring has been supposed to represent such a payment.

Another, less explainable, custom it is interesting to have on such high authority ; but the ceremony Egil goes through when he is obliged to leave Norway, and curses Eric Bloody Axe and his Queen and their territory, is said to be still practised, or at least remembered, in parts of England,—a horse's skull is put up (generally during the night) opposite the house to be cursed.

The account of how Egil buried his brother on the field of Brunnaburg shows that cairn-burials with weapons are not necessarily very old. He buries him with his weapons, and clasps a gold bracelet on each arm, presumably those he was wearing himself ; then they cover the grave with stones, throwing in earth. The stones would, better than anything but a very deep grave could have done, protect the body from wild animals ; but the steel weapons might rust away very quickly. Athelstan subsequently gives Egil the bracelet he is wearing himself.

The most probable theory about the Berserkers seems to be that which makes them a class of warriors who, when fighting at sea became common, discarded armour, which ensured their being drowned if they fell overboard. This would lead to a different style of fighting, something like the headlong rush of the Scotch, who, long after the

time of Brunanburg, threw off their plaids in going into action. But this theory allows for exaggeration in the case of the Berserkers.

The translator says much of the intentional obscurity of the poetry, of which there is a great deal in Egil's history, for among other curious things he was a poet of a high order, and the impossibility of imitating the forms in English. He wonders how people can have understood or liked such compositions; but though Egil's are better than those of other Skalds, very similar rhymes are copiously furnished to the British public by the weekly papers, in the shape of "double acrostics", which, though they may have a pun here and there, consist almost entirely of *kennings*,—unusual descriptions of the objects in question, like the class of poetry described.

Not the least curious of the *kennings* here is that of *reindeer-trod hil's* when *Scolland* is meant. It is stated elsewhere that the Norwegian Jarls used to come over to Scotland to hunt the reindeer as well as the red deer; but little attention had probably been paid to the statement till the distinctive horns of the reindeer were actually found in the rubbish of the Brochs by the excavators of recent years.

The absence of mosquitos in Britain must have been a great recommendation to northern sportsmen. It was probably from his incapacity to take part in these riddles that an evening sleeper was a marked man in Viking circles.

Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions. By JAMES BONWICK, F.R.G.S.—Most readers who know anything of Mr. Bonwick's other works will probably be rather surprised at seeing his name on the title-page of this one. In fact, it would be rather an astonishing performance if the same phenomenon did not repeat itself in other cases: that of a traveller and observer who can himself describe graphically, and to all appearance truthfully, what he has himself seen, and is well able to weigh evidence where the facts are at all within his knowledge; and yet who, in dealing with other people's writings, seems totally unconscious of the inaccuracy of the great majority.

Nobody is better than Mr. Bonwick, as regards the best of his colonial books, as to telling the things which people are to know; and it is impossible to imagine anything more sober-minded than his little work entitled *Pyramid Facts and Fancies*. The Great Pyramid is undoubtedly a very solid fact; but Mr. Bonwick treats facts and fancies, of which there are plenty in connection with it, all in the same matter-of-fact way; while in *Irish Druids*, which is almost as much of a compilation as the other book, other people's theories seem all to have run mad together, like the Gadarene swine; only that one dare not indulge the hope of hearing no more of them in consequence.

When Mr. Bonwick is on the scene himself, it is very different. His

visit to Tara is admirable. The old woman who was in charge of it, and who boasted of having raised the neighbourhood, and routed intending excavators, sang to the visitors (presumably in English) "a long ballad of past glory", touching on O'Connell and the Repeal Meeting at Tara, which she remembered. In fact, the sobering influence of solid objects appears in the short chapter on some of the megalithic remains of Ireland.

It should be mentioned that Giraldus is not otherwise a seer than as Mr. Bonwick is. He was a Norman with a keen eye for folk-lore.

It is difficult to give a fair idea of the theories; but on the subject of the Round Towers, fifteen are named, while there is no mention (unless it is included in the *et cetera*) of that which makes them places of refuge for the priests of the church, with the church plate, which was a great object of the Norsemen's incursions. This would make the oldest date from the ninth century. It is certain, in two cases at least in Irish history, that ecclesiastics took refuge in them.

Mr. Bonwick is probably right in supposing (what is hardly denied now) that there are many old Ossianic poems (all comparatively short), but none of the authorities he quotes, except Miss Brooke, seem to see that any historical basis they may have must belong to the former period, the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, as they chiefly concern fights with the Norsemen.

The "old religions" mentioned by Mr. Bonwick are chiefly Oriental, and have no connection with Ireland.

As to the Druids, he certainly gives them a wide scope, his views about them being decidedly eclectic. He identifies them with the *Ollamhs* mentioned by the Four Masters in the tenth century B.C.; with the old missionary, and probably Patrician, Church of the *Seven Bishops* (in Iona); with the Culdees, of whom we know very little, except that they appear as married clergy (apparently in the position of canons) in the centuries immediately before that in which the marriage of the clergy was finally prohibited. If the Four Masters really mention them in 806, it must be about the earliest occurrence of the name, and the animosity which it is alleged Bede entertained against them must be interpreted as referring to the much secularised Irish clergy. Further, it is said that Druidism probably lingered among the Irish clergy down to the sixteenth century. But there is no need to limit it at all. Dr. Joyce, who is, perhaps, more in touch with the subject than any other writer, says that in the west of Ireland a cunning-looking man would be called a *Shan-dree*, or old Druid, still; and in some parts of the Scotch Highlands a witch is a *Ban-drui*, or woman-Druid. It may be added that in the parts of the Highlands where the English-Latin equivalent has not been adopted, "sending for the doctor" is respectfully phrased as "asking the Olla" (or learned man) "to come."

Stonehenge and its Earthworks.—The existing works on Stonehenge are either expensive monographs like that of Stukeley's (now out of print), and therefore inaccessible to the general public), or small handbooks which deal with the subject in a very superficial manner.

The object of Mr. Edgar Barclay's proposed volume on *Stonehenge and its Earthworks* is to give a concise summary of the information already published and the various theories held by the leading authorities, supplemented by copious plans and general views, which will enable the reader to test the value of the theories for himself. Reproductions of old drawings of the monument will form an important feature in the work, as an opportunity is thus given of understanding the changes that the stones have undergone in the last few centuries, and of comparing them with the author's representations showing the state of the monument as it is at present.

It is hardly necessary to say that great care has been taken to ensure absolute accuracy in all views and plans given in the work; and it is hoped that the volume will prove useful both as a handbook for persons visiting Stonehenge, and also as a book of reference for the library. It will be published by Mr. Chas. J. Clark, 4 Lincoln's Inn Fields, at the subscription price of 10s. 6d.

Dictionary of British Folk-Lore. Edited by G. LAURENCE GOMME, Esq., F.S.A., President of the Folk-Lore Society, etc. Part I, "The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland; with Tunes, Singing-Rhymes, and Methods of Playing according to the Variants Extant and Recorded in Different Parts of the Kingdom." Collected and annotated by ALICE BERTHA GOMME. (Vol. i, xx-433 pp. Demy 8vo. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.) —The work here announced will be completed in two volumes, the second of which will be ready in the autumn. It forms the first section of a *Dictionary of British Folk-Lore*, for which the President of the Folk-Lore Society and Mrs. Gomme have been accumulating material during the last fifteen years. It depends upon the reception accorded to this, the first instalment of the *Dictionary*, whether the remainder of the work shall see the light. If, as may be hoped with some confidence, that reception is of a nature to encourage Editor and Publisher, the "Games" will be followed next year by the "Traditional Marriage Rites and Usages of the British Isles."

The scope of the work is sufficiently defined by its title; its merit is sufficiently guaranteed by the name of the Editor to preclude the necessity of dwelling upon either. It need only be noted that the second volume will contain an elaborate Appendix, which will, to quote from the Preface, "give a complete analysis of the incidents mentioned in the Games, and attempt to tell the story of their origin and development, as well as compare them with the games of children of foreign countries."

The price of the present volume has been fixed at 12s. Cd. net, and it may be had post free from Mr. D. Nutt, the publisher, or from all booksellers, at this price. The publisher reserves the right of raising the price later.

Mrs. Gomme has also made a selection of the Chief Singing Games for the Nursery and Schoolroom, illustrated and decorated throughout by Miss Winifred Smith.

Lydd and its Church. By THOMAS H. OYLER. (London : Chas. J. Clark, 4 Lincoln's Inn Fields.)—This work is in the press, and will be ready in a few weeks. It contains a full description of the architecture of the church, and the whole of the inscriptions with their quaint phraseology; also numerous interesting extracts from the town records and other sources. The book will be illustrated from original sketches.

This little volume has been compiled by the author with a twofold design. On the one hand it is hoped that the care which has been bestowed upon its preparation will ensure it a welcome from the antiquary as an accurate and thoroughly trustworthy epitome of the present state of a most interesting church and its monuments. On the other hand, the addition of matters of less moment, but of greater general interest, should commend it to the attention of visitors and tourists.

Price to subscribers, bound in cloth, 1s. 6d.; post free, 1s. 8d. The price will probably be advanced after publication, as only a limited number of copies will be printed beyond those subscribed for. Subscribers' names should be sent to the Author, Langley Lodge, Sutton Valence, Staplehurst, Kent; or the publisher.

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THE VITRIFIED FORTS OF THE NORTH
OF SCOTLAND,
AND THE THEORIES AS TO THEIR HISTORY.

BY MISS RUSSELL.

(Read 16th May 1894.)

THE vitrified fort of Dunnagoil, in the island of Bute, which was seen by the Association during the Glasgow Congress, was, I find, the starting-point of all the more modern investigations of that curious class of structure.

The subject was pretty well worked in the last century, when attention was first drawn to it, and I do not know that any one has seriously carried on investigation of them since, until the lamented Dr. Angus Smith was captivated by the chemical and archaeological problems in combination, which they offered him. But Dunnagoil was the one originally known to him, and he says he had some specimens from it, though it is not quite clear whether his analysis was made from them.

Some years before his *Loch Etive* papers appeared (that is, in 1869), an excellent paper on the general subject, also to be found in the *Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, was written by Dr. John Stuart, partly from personal observation, on the occasion of receiving, through Dr. Ferdinand Keller, who translated it, an account of similar vitrified forts in one part of Bohemia. They must be very much like the Scotch forts, sometimes supporting a great mass of loose stones.

One is known in Brittany, and four or five in Ireland, on the side towards Scotland; but much the greater number of those known to exist are in Scotland, north of the Forth and Clyde; while there are said to be about some four or five in Galloway and Carrick, immediately south of the Firth of Clyde.

It should be explained here that the vitrified forts are, generally speaking, hill-forts, in most respects precisely the same as the other hill-forts which so abound in Scotland both north and south of the Firths, and which have ramparts either of loose stones, or, at all events, stones without mortar, or of earth. These latter often of such comparatively small size, that, as Dr. Joseph Anderson remarked in one of his well-known lectures, they give the idea that they must have been supplemented by palisades. They are generally placed either on the tops of the lower hills, or on rising grounds or knolls, the lines of which are followed by the ramparts. And Mr. John Williams, who is still probably the best, as he was the earliest, authority about the vitrified forts, lays great stress on their identity, in all respects, with the other forts, except for the peculiarity that the generally small stones of which the ramparts are constructed have been cemented together by fire; that is, partly melted so as to adhere together, which they do still, in long lines of a sort of artificial rock, or rather lava, which they more resemble than true stone.

Mr. Williams certainly had great advantages for examining them. He was a mining engineer employed by the Commissioners of Fortified Estates after the "civil war", as it was called, of 1745; who, contrary to what might have been expected, seem to have gained golden opinions in Scotland. By their directions Mr. Williams made an examination of the vitrified forts. He came to the conclusion that they were artificial, not natural, and that they could only have been constructed by some such process as this: the erection of two banks of earth along the line of the intended wall, and the filling of the space between them with wood and branches; and on the top of them, loose stones. He supposed that the wood was set on fire, and allowed to burn out; and that when the wood was completely burnt, and the stones sunk to the

bottom of the long pile, that fresh wood and fresh stones were put in; and the process repeated until the vitrified wall had reached the height intended.

Mr. Williams' book (letters published in 1777) seems to have been the signal for a crop of other theories, for before that they are said to have been considered as natural rocks; and, indeed, that is the impression a casual view of almost any *one* would give to a spectator who did not examine it particularly; for there is no trace of human handiwork about them, while they are too much scattered over the Highlands to be very readily compared: indeed, before the country was opened up by the military roads, it would have been a matter of very great difficulty; though as they became accessible, they became objects of curiosity.

I doubt if there is any general description of these to be found before the time in question.

One theory, which has certainly much appearance of probability at first sight, was that they were, as Mr. Williams asserted, hill-forts not differing very much from others not vitrified; but that the stone ramparts had been combined with palisades of wood and branches, and that the stones had become vitrified accidentally, when the palisades were burnt at different times, not by the inhabitants, but by the enemies they were intended to exclude. The drawback to this theory is that such a conflagration in the open air would not produce the effect. It is matter of daily experience that houses and other buildings, partly of stone and partly of wood, are burnt down without the ruins being vitrified to any perceptible degree, and that, though sandstone is much used as a building stone. Something like Mr. Williams' stoking process is required; and, as will be shown, that not only would, but actually does, produce vitrification in the present day.

The theory that the forts were the sites of beacons has also an appearance of probability, as the stones in the case would have been subjected to a succession of hot fires; but, on the other hand, as Dr. Angus Smith says, those who maintained that theory can only have seen small ones like the one at Dunnagoil, in Bute, and that in the Greater Cumbrae, one of the smaller islands

in the Firth of Clyde,—the clergyman of which, it used to be alleged, prayed weekly for “the neighbouring islands of Great Britain and Ireland”!

But the popular theory which, in spite of its absurdity, has scarcely ceased to be heard of yet, was that the vitrified forts were, one and all, extinct volcanoes. It is, generally speaking, only for those who have not seen them that this notion can have had any plausibility, for the artificial lava not only does not form the hill the fort stands on, but does not run down it, except at some spots; but forms a long mound going round the top of the hill, and in some cases ceasing at the points where the sides of it are too precipitous to allow of the fort being attacked from those quarters.

The author of a sensible, if rather puzzled, article on the subject (article “Forts”) in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ed. 3rd, 1797), says, “..... where shall we find, in any other part of the world, an example of volcanoes ejecting lava in the form of walls enclosing a regular area? This would be attributing such a singularity to the volcanoes of Scotland as the most extravagant imagination cannot admit.” Dr. John Stuart says, in his paper on the subject, “To those who have seen the extent and regularity of some of these vitrified walls, it will seem surprising the volcanic theory could have gained any footing.” And Dr. Angus Smith says that he only mentions the theories which make the forts works of nature, because they are those of men whose opinions on other subjects are to be respected. He mentions the *lightning* and the *earthquake* theories, which I do not know of otherwise.

As might be expected, there is an explanation of the prevalence of the volcanic theory, a reason for it in some degree. The period was that of the dawn of geology, which was quite a subject of the day; and people, especially in Edinburgh, were full of the idea of volcanic forces, while they had not yet risen to the idea that the more mountainous of the Hebrides were the roots of gigantic volcanoes, and that the island called the Bass Rock, which rises 300 ft. straight out of the sea, and is not very much more in diameter, was the lava which had cooled in the throat of a dying-out volcano; these rocky

islands having been compressed into stone by the superincumbent weight, the loose materials of which were readily scattered.

Hutton, the founder of geology as a science, who must have been always a scientific man, at one time occupied himself in introducing the modern system of agriculture on his own small estate in Berwickshire. I rather think he, like various other gentlemen at the time, employed an English ploughman to show the neighbourhood that ploughing could be done without a team of oxen ; but when he thought he had done everything that could be done to the land with profit, he let it, and settled in Edinburgh to work seriously at science. He maintained, and so far his theory has stood all subsequent tests, that forces akin to those of volcanoes and earthquakes have been the principal agents in forming the present crust of the globe ; partly, of course, by exposing the materials to the action of water at different levels ; and that even the sedimentary rocks, and those obviously containing shells, had been hardened by heat combined with great pressure.

And a further reason why this theory might be misleading to the unscientific is that Hutton, while he lived (and he lived into this century), strenuously deprecated experiments to work out his theories. He said he was convinced of the truth of them himself, but that it was quite impossible the great forces of nature could be successfully imitated on a small scale, and he did not want his views discredited by failures.

It is difficult to imagine how he had arrived at his results without experiment, for when he died, and his disciples, with great trouble and patience, worked out the problems in practice, he was shown to be perfectly right ; that is, as to his main theory. And incidentally they showed that no great heat could have been necessary for the formation of the vitrified forts. A period of three weeks, including gradual heating and cooling (but the greater part of the time at a steady red-heat), was enough to turn loose materials, under a heavy weight, into actual stone undistinguishable from specimens of natural rock.

Hutton probably did not care to enter into the vitrifi-

cation controversy ; but his inseparable friend, Dr. Joseph Black, the Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh, did. It appears he says in a letter to Mr. Williams, "There are in most parts of Scotland different kinds of stone which can without much difficulty be melted or softened by fire to such a degree as to make them adhere together." A still more noted scientific man, no other than James Watt, wrote, after examining Craig Phadrick, near Inverness, "I think it is a work of art, probably formed by piling up layers of stone and wood, and setting that on fire." Black was much the greater chemist.

Lastly (as regards this part of the subject), the gist of the whole matter lies in the letter from Mr. Ramsay, Head of the Geological Survey, to the late Dr. Hill Burton, with which the latter had furnished Dr. Stuart. He had seen and examined Knockfarril, and was subsequently struck by the way in which sandstone was stoked to harden it into good road-metal, in the district of Yorkshire west of Barnsley. It was partly at least quarried, and built into a heap about 30 ft. in diameter, and 10 or 12 in height, with some brushwood interspersed (but not very much); and two or three thin layers of coals. An opening for more fuel was left towards the prevailing wind, and fire was lighted in it, and being smothered by the stones, went on burning for about six weeks, after which the stones were found to be partly vitrified. "I examined them carefully. Slabs originally flat had become bent and contorted, and in numerous instances stones originally separate had become, so to speak, glazed together in the process of vitrification ; which I imagine could not have been effected but for the presence of the soda or potash, and of the iron, which are part of the constituents of felspar and mica."

As to the appearance of the forts, I think the term *wall* is rather deceptive. The vitrified ramparts are rather mounds whose height and breadth are about equal. They are so spongy in appearance that it is rather startling to find how very hard they are. They are often quite low ; and Dr. Angus Smith suggests, with great ingenuity, that when a wall thus laboriously constructed, but not more than 2 or 3 ft. high, is found surrounding a fort at some distance down the slope of the hill, it has

in all probability supported a wall of loose stones, which on a steep slope could otherwise have been readily undermined by an attacking enemy. He goes the length of saying that they are never above the working height of a man ; but this does not seem to be invariable. From Dr. Jameson's account of Finhaven, in Forfarshire, that must have been a vitrified wall of considerable height, forming the nucleus of great ramparts of dry stone. A wrought stone (apparently part of a quern), stuck in the vitrified wall here, was an interesting point. The fire has generally obliterated any such details. It is another exceptional case, that a friend of Hugh Miller had found the print of the kelp seaweed used in glass-making on a stone in Knockfarril.

But one of these low walls, of whatever date, I believe surrounds the old Castle of Dunolly. The modern mansion-house, though near, is not within the circuit ; and the same is said to be the case at Dunadeer in Aberdeenshire; though if the vitrified wall is the line round the green hill visible from below, it is a very faint one. Specimens from this wall, which contain a good deal of iron, are curiously magnetic. This is in the neighbourhood of Tap o' Noth, which one cannot help thinking has had a good deal to do with the volcano theory. It is on a conical hill, and the calcined stone is unusually black, owing, it is said, to the presence of manganese. It is magnetic also. There seems no story about this fort whatever.

Knockfarril in Strathpeffer, which, like Tap o' Noth in the Garioch, commands a fertile valley, is also called Fingal's Hill. Fingal properly means a Norwegian ; but this is probably a modern name, given in honour of the legend that Fionn (who is called Fingal by Macpherson) had jumped from it on to one of the other hills, probably on the other side of Strathpeffer. The line of the ramparts follows the outline of the hill-top here as elsewhere. I should describe it as a sort of pilgrim-bottle shape, rather oval in the larger part, but with the sides approaching in one place. The rather artificial-looking conglomerate of the hill has been decidedly scarped at the entrance, to make it slippery, which it is. Inside is fine tufa. The rampart is about 3 ft. high. The accounts

differ, so that one would like to know what the rate of waste has been ; but it does not seem to have been known as higher to the present generation. The small pieces ("specimens", in fact) usually found alongside all these ramparts are, no doubt, detached by water lodging and freezing in the holes in the mass ; but there can be none of the splitting which takes place so constantly in this climate where stones are in layers, either natural or artificial.

On consulting Mr. Williams' own account of it, it appears that there must have been in his time (and must be now) more vitrified remains underground at Knockfarril than above the surface. He made a deep cut across the ridge, and found not only remains of vitrified house-walls, but found also that the present wall or mound enclosing the top of the hill was only the ruin of a much higher one, which had fallen *outward* on both sides. Even so there was a considerable height underground. The builders had evidently been too ambitious, using the rude methods they did. The line of the present vitrified wall, close to the edge of the steep bank, is quite consistent with this ; for in its present position, the mound of earth which would have been required to produce the vitrification could on the outer side have found no place.

Mr. Williams says he found no relics but bones, which the Highlanders said were those of deer. He probably did not *riddle* the earth ; but short of using the sieve, I do not know that any of us have improved much on his work.

I have not had the opportunity of reading his book very thoroughly, but I rather apprehend that a letter in which he says he had given all the traditions he could hear of is not included in it. However, he says that the Highlanders attributed all the vitrified forts to Fingal (meaning, of course, Fionn), and all the dry stone ones to the Picts ; which shows the people of the country had noticed the former as a class. He calls the size of Knockfarril 120 ft. by 40 ; others, 90 by 40. Possibly this shorter measurement may not include the entrance, the neck of the bottle.

Regarding Craig Phadraic, near Inverness, it is only a conjecture, but nevertheless a probable one, that it was

the stronghold of the King of the Picts visited by St. Columba. I should be inclined to think it was older than the sixth century; but the geography of their distribution rather points to these forts being connected with the Picts, who seem to have been the old Gael of the country; their predecessors, if any, having been the dark haired non-Aryans, who, judging from a few words remaining in the names of places, must have been rather Basques than Finns. The name of Craig Phadraic is favourable to the idea about the King of the Picts and Columba, which I think was Dr. Hill Burton's.

Columba was far from being primarily a missionary to the heathen. He came over from Ireland to establish a monastery among the Christian Scots of Argyleshire, and he apparently did not settle at first in Iona because there was still an old church establishment there, the remains of one of the groups of the Irish missionary church. But he eventually converted and baptized the King of the Northern Picts; and if this was his castle, it seems likely enough it was christened also, as the Rock of St. Patrick. Columba, who was himself an Irish Scot, did not beard the King of the Picts altogether without protection. He was accompanied by two powerful Irish Abbots, who are still well-known Saints, and who were both Irish Picts by race.

There is a full and interesting description of Craig Phadraic by Mr. Tytler (a Judge as Lord Woodhouselee), a partisan, if not the originator, of the conflagration theory before mentioned. It must be, or have been then, a fine specimen of its class. While the entrance was by a zigzag road deeply cut in the rock, overhanging which were pieces of loose rock, apparently intended to be thrown down so as to block it, if necessary, the end at which it would have been naturally most accessible had a very large mound of vitrified stones, probably the largest mass of them in Scotland; and the vitrified rampart is double, though the outer one on the slope of the rock is sometimes little raised above it. It also appears to have been angular, and to have consisted of an inner and an outer long square, though the lines are not straight or regular; and Mr. Tytler thought there were the remains of towers at the corners. He remarks that one part of

the inner area appeared to have been separated from the rest by a line of stones firmly fixed in the earth, and conjectures it might have been the residence of the inhabitants of higher rank, which is not without interest in the circumstances.

The same general plan appears in one of the forts on the Firth of Clyde. It is by no means the same kind of commanding stronghold ; but is not particularly small, occupying the end of a small promontory which forms one side of Carradale Bay, on the east coast of Kintyre, looking towards Arran, across Kilbrannan Sound. Whether the two lines of rampart are true concentric parallelograms or not, they have the appearance of being symmetrical, and the lines are straight. Owing probably to the accumulation of soil, they might be described as retaining walls, between 2 and 3 ft. high, the inner enclosure occupying the highest part of the ridge.

On the opposite coast there is said to be a vitrified fort at Turnberry, in the southern part of Ayrshire. This, at all events, connects with a historic stronghold ; and there is said to be the peculiarity of a great deposit of wood-ashes remaining in the neighbourhood ; though, from the data given above, it appears the vitrification could be managed, if carefully done, without any great expenditure of fuel ; and for those on the coast seaweed would be available.

The supposed fort at Turnberry is not mentioned, as far as I see, in any of the lists ; but that does not much tell against its existence, for these west-coast places are often more inaccessible in the present day than sites in the central Highlands.

Dr. Stuart says that Dr. Hibberd gives a list of forty-four, of which three are in Galloway, on the north-west of Scotland, and one on the Cowdenknowes Hill in Berwickshire. Galloway is too obviously open to communication with the West Highlands, and is also too notoriously a Pictish district, for the presence of vitrified forts there to import anything particular ; while Mr. Cole's careful and laborious examination of the forts of Galloway and Ayrshire raises a strong suspicion that there are no vitrified forts at all there, though the process may have been attempted without having the *recipe*.

But the case of the alleged one on the Cowdenknowes Hill is different. In the first place there is no analogy for it in the east of Scotland, south of the Forth; or, indeed, as far as I know, south of the Tay; and secondly, there is every reason to suppose its existence was altogether a mistake, the bits of calcined stone which may be found by a careful search among the grass on the top of the hill being in all probability the remains of the lime the ground has been dressed with. The small level plateau on the top of the hill not only has all the appearance of having been under cultivation, but is known to have been ploughed within this century. I imagine the nearest approach to a rampart it has ever had was the low line of stones, about a foot high, running round it. These must have been gathered off the small field, and have been used as part of the fence round it. Lime is or was worked in the valley of the Leader, and burnt stones may be found in many fields in the country.

It should be added the aspect of the site is very suggestive of a fort. It has a general resemblance to the Tap o' Noth; and the red sandstone, of which there is a great quarry in the hill, would have supplied the materials, if the vitrified wall could have been found; while across the Tweed, on the northernmost of the three Eildon Hills, there are the ramparts of what must have been a town or large village, the predecessor of the present Melrose. In fact, I doubt its being even prehistoric, though Dr. Christison calls it so. But while the Eildons and the ground about them seem to have been part of the line of defence facing south-east, on the north side of the river it is the deep valley of the Leader, a tributary of the Tweed, which continues the line, as we know it was theoretically the frontier of Cumbria; and the Cowdenknowes Hill is on the wrong side of that for purposes of defence, being on the east bank. The pressure was generally from the south, influenced by successive invasions from the Continent.

That there are apparently no real traces of fortification on this hill is rather interesting in this light, as the demarcation here is probably older than the time of the Romans, and was only obliterated far on in the Middle Ages. An eminent scientific man who had been much

interested about the burnt stones on the Cowdenknowes Hill, being asked about them years afterwards, said that they had been quite unable to find any tradition or knowledge of a fort on the hill; and though the ready candour with which he said this did him credit, the explanation that the stones were the refuse of lime-dressing may not have been altogether unacceptable scientifically as explaining the appearances.

As said before, the only investigations or excavations of the forts which have been carried on quite on the modern lines are those of Dr. Angus Smith at Dun Mac Uisneachan, in Loch Etive. In the first of his *Loch Etive* papers (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, Feb. 13th, 1871) he says he was at Oban for rest, when he was advised to go and see the vitrified fort on what is not really an island, but a somewhat inaccessible peninsula in Loch Etive. He seems to have poked about the remains, and satisfied himself of the general plan of the stronghold. He subsequently made an analysis, in his own laboratory, of the vitrified stones apparently both from this place and from Dunnagoil. He says he was not satisfied with the result, though it had taken several weeks to arrive at. He gives the average result, however, and it is that 28 per cent., or more than one-fourth, was made up of materials easily affected by fire, oxide of iron, lime, magnesia, potash, and soda, all of which would act upon the rest.

Another year he got permission to excavate, and investigated one of the principal points about the hill-forts, the water-supply. Knockfarril, Tap o' Noth, Craig Phadraic, and, no doubt, others, have what are called wells, but which I should rather call rain-water reservoirs, 5 or 6 ft. deep at most. An old man told Dr. Smith that though it was now filled up nearly to the top, the well in Dun Mac Uisneachan was so deep that his father remembered throwing stones down it, and wondering at the length of time it was before he heard them fall; and yet, when it was cleared out, it was only about 5 ft. deep, and filled with water by the drainage of the area of the fort. The bottom was the natural rock which the builders do not seem to have anywhere meddled with.

This is rather an interesting case of one of the vagaries of tradition, which is sometimes curiously retentive and

exact. What had happened in this case probably was that the elder old man had somewhere in his travels met with a very deep well, and that his son had always supposed it was the one in the Dun that he meant.

The absence of any appearance of a water-supply struck Dr. Christison much in the high-placed hill-forts of Peeblesshire. The draining which has drawn off or concealed the springs in many places can hardly have taken place on these rocky hills; and no doubt they were supplied by collecting the rain-water in this way. The botanists have remarked a water-plant growing in one of the forts of the Gala Water line, where there is now neither moisture nor any remains of a reservoir; while one of the well-known hill forts of Northumberland, the interesting one of Old Bewick, has the rain-water cisterns still remaining,—one a shallow pond, shaped much like a saucer, about 6 ft. across, and on one side at least neatly cut out of the rock. This is still used by the cattle; while what the people call "The Bloody Trough" is evidently an arrangement for getting a small supply of drinking-water every time it rained. It is an oval hollow, perhaps 18 in. long, on the top of the rock, outside all the fortifications, which is so profusely marked with concentric circles,—charms, no doubt (especially since the discovery in Rome of a mosaic representing an eye pierced by a javelin), against the Evil Eye, and for the welfare of the settlement.

The trough is probably a natural hollow enlarged, and several small channels in the rock lead into it, so that the lightest shower would fill it, and it is exactly at the height from the ground that is convenient for drinking.

It may be added that *one* circle of moderate-sized stones (the last remains of the beehive-huts, the "conick houses", of which Mr. Williams found so many in the Highland forts) was remaining a few years ago at Old Bewick.

Dr. Smith's continued exertions at Dun Mac Uisneachan showed that a vitrified wall, somewhere about 4 or 5 ft. high, seemed to run round the top of the rocky peninsula, intermitting where the rock outside was quite precipitous. The vitrified wall is lined or backed by a regularly built drystone wall, which must be older than

the other, at one point at least, where the vitrified matter has run over it. This is rather an important point as to construction ; and I see the same thing is the case at Dunnagoil, of which there is a short notice in the *Proceedings of the Scotch Antiquaries* for 1892-3. The regularly laid backing-wall is there, and in one point at least, in this case also, the slag from the vitrified rubbish has run among the stones.

I do not think that Dunnagoil, from the descriptions, can be so small as Dr. Smith calls it ; but the large size of Dun Mac Uisneachan, 250 yards in length, was one of the things which impressed him so much. The name of *Beregonium*, by which it actually appears in the maps, seems to be an attempt, as old as the Renaissance, to identify this great stronghold with one of Ptolemy's localities.

I do not know that Dr. Smith's excavations add much directly to our knowledge of the vitrified forts, except on the point mentioned, where they show that one at least of the two preliminary mounds or walls inferred by Mr. Williams as necessary to the stoking process has in these cases been, not of earth, and temporary, but of stone, and permanent. For anything we know, the other may have been of stone too. The same loose stones might be used again and again; and in this case the process would very closely resemble that described by Mr. Ramsay as in use in Yorkshire at the present day for hardening road-metal. In fact, the probability is in favour of this modification of the theory, for earthworks can hardly be made without spades, while loose stones of moderate size, such as abound in most parts of Scotland, need no tools whatever.

On the other hand, the intense human interest this old settlement excited in the excavator is both interesting in itself, and suggestive on a good many different points. He says he had got no clue to the date of the vitrification, but some idea of that of the occupation of Dun Mac Uisneachan. He found the unvitrified walls of small buildings (probably separate dwellings), and in one part 6 or 7 ft. of rubbish full of the bones of modern domestic animals. The more personal finds were : some inches of an iron sword, with the tang for the hilt (this fell out of the drystone wall), but no doubt that must have had to

be constantly repaired, like other drystone walls, so tells little as to date ; the ring part of an iron circular brooch ; a piece of bronze wire made by hammering ; a piece of mica "very clear and bright", which suggests windows ; and a small enamelled bronze ornament, which appeared to have been the cap of something, having a depression on one side. The pattern was the venerable one of concentric circles.

Now all these relics of habitation correspond well enough with the period to which the present name of the fort refers. Though the people of the country, Dr. Smith says, call it Dun Mac Sniocan, it is understood that this is a corruption for a name meaning the Fort of the Sons of Uisnech, the heroes of a celebrated Irish legend or romance which is in all probability historical in the main. And Mr. Skene, who knew the West Highlands well, says that some of the poems about their settlement in Alba, Scotland, appear to have been composed by somebody who knew this district of very marked Highland scenery.

The story is alleged by the Irish writers to have happened about the Christian era. I should infer, from analogy, not quite so early; but it must belong to the earlier period of Irish history, that is, before the coming of the Norsemen in the ninth century ; and, indeed, it seems to have happened before the foundation of the kingdom of the Irish Scots in Argyleshire, which would take it back to the fourth century. The Romans did not interfere much with the west coast of Scotland, nor directly with Ireland at all.

The inhabitants of Britain, when the Roman first encountered them in battle, used swords of soft iron, which got blunt ; and the fragment of a sword found in Dun Mac Uisneachan came apart, as if it had never been thoroughly welded. There are two iron brooches, Dr. Smith says, in the Dublin Museum ; and the enamel is a British manufacture, well known as such to the Romans.

Altogether these relics rather point to the centuries just before the Romans entered Scotland, and we have no evidence that the vitrification is older. And what Dr. Smith says about the one case known in France, that the vitrified fort at Perran, in Brittany, was proba-

bly made by immigrants from some other country, has an interesting suggestion that the art had not been altogether forgotten during the Roman period. It is near St. Brieuc ; and a gentleman living there told him, when he visited it, that he had examined the fort in twelve or fourteen places, and in every excavation found Roman bricks underneath the lines, and had also found a "Germanicus". It stands on a plain, and the lines are unbroken ; while the fact that there is a great deal of vitrified matter, and yet the vitrification has not generally been sufficient to cause the complete cohesion of the masses, which was the object, points to the process being imperfectly understood.

And St. Brieuc is the only place where I have been able to find any actual tradition of the migration from Great Britain into Armorica, said to have taken place after the final departure of the Romans ! The popular theory that the whole population of Brittany came over then is absurd, for they were of the same race as the inhabitants of Great Britain in Cæsar's time ; but probably a great many of those who could, did get away to territory still under Roman protection. Mr. Rimmer says everybody would who could ; but I would except the Cumbrian nobles, the Men of the North, who, I imagine, had been holding the northern Roman wall from the time when the inscriptions cease, with those of the Antonines. That is my solution of the question as between Dr. Bruce and Mr. Skene.

St. Brieuc is a British Saint, and there are dedications to him in Rothsay, at the parish church, at Dunrod in Galloway, and on an island in the South Esk. I do not at this moment know of any in England or Wales ; and in a Life of the Saint, which I got at the town of the name, it is stated that a noble Briton, Count Rivallon (who, I think, is heard of elsewhere in Breton tradition), who had come from Great Britain after the leaving of the Romans, was lord of the district at the time that St. Brieuc, with a band of companions, came from Britain, and settled themselves on the site of the present town (a mile or two inland from the coast of Brittany), and began cutting down trees, and building the huts of a monastery. The Count was intensely indignant when he

heard of this invasion, and was preparing to deal summarily with the invaders, when some one explained to him who the leader was, when he exclaimed, "It is my cousin, Germain Brieuc", and went to meet him with quite changed intentions, and granted him the land he wanted for his monastery.

The name of Germain, even if assumed in religion by an ecclesiastic, probably dates this incident after the first mission of St. Germain of Auxerre to Britain in 429, while it shows that Brieuc was a surname. The Gaelic *breac* is the equivalent of Pict; or, as I believe in this case, tartan-wearers: *breacan* is tartan or a plaid. The Welsh sons of Brychan are known to have been Irish-Gael by descent; the sons of Uisneach were Irish Picts also, whether they were the builders of the Dun or not. But was the fort at Perran built for Count Rivallon under the superintendence of St. Brieuc?

It is interesting to notice the Saint of Bourbriac is a different person. He seems to have been christened after the elder Saint, and is distinguished as Briac Franco, apparently as being a Frank by nation. I have no doubt the Picts were the people who originally called themselves *Man*. The Ordnance Map of Scotland shows how the Mannan and Minnoch names mark their limits in Lothian and Galloway.

Whether vitrification was a British art or not (it was Dr. George Petrie who connected the forts with the Piets in Ireland, and his inferences are indications not to be lightly regarded), I am inclined to see a trace of still earlier occupation at Dun Mac Uisneachan, with its inaccessible situation and commanding outlook, "really one of the very finest views in Scotland", says Dr. Smith.

The theory of an early non-Aryan population in Britain has been made to do duty in such queer ways that I can quite imagine people being shy of it; but the very common river-name "Ur" is certainly the Basque word for *water*; and "Lour" (not an uncommon element in place-names, especially in Scotland) is the Basque for *land*. The Mendips and Mendicks may be the Basque *mendi*, hill; and I see I had remarked, within the last few months, in a paper written for a local Society on some Scotch place-names, that the Gaelic name of Loch Etive

(that is, *Loch Etchi*) might be from the Basque *etchi*, which is the regular word for *house*, referring to the fort or fortified town. And also that there is a small level shelf on Ben Cruachan, called "Auchenetchi". *Auchen* is field; and there is no house or shed there now, but it seems not an unlikely place for some sort of shelter to have been erected. *Etchi*, supposing it to have been Basque, would be nothing but a proper name to the Celtic Picts.

But having recently propounded this theory, I was interested, on looking through his papers, by what Dr. Smith says, or rather quotes, about the name of Glen Etive: "..... I am inclined to add a remark made to me by Mr. Duncan Clerk of Oban, to whom I am indebted for many kindnesses. After saying that the name of Glenetive means the Glen of Storms, or the Wild Glen (according to the Highland Society's Dictionary and the *New Statistical Account*), he says, 'it occurred to me that it was somewhat different from the names of the other glens, inasmuch as they are generally made to point out some physical feature, such as Glenfinlay, Glenlunnan, and others. The scenery about Glenetive is wild and grand in the extreme, and the names might have been chosen to be in character. Larigoillt is the Pass of Terror.'"

These remarks do somewhat bear out my supposition that the name of Glenetive is the House Glen, and of the former order; while as to Larigoillt, *larre* is a hill-pasture in Basque. But it does not follow that the vitrification is as old as the pre-Celtic period.

NOTE.—The names and localities of the Bohemian vitrified forts, which I had some idea of giving, do not convey very much idea in this country. The paper, which seems to have been written in German, is either the actual report upon the forts drawn up for the Austrian Government, or at all events is written by the same gentleman, Dr. J. E. Fodisch, and is not intended for travellers. Anyone thinking of going in search of them should see the paper, with Dr. Stuart's comments, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for May 10th, 1869, at the British Museum or elsewhere; while Murray's *Handbook* will probably supply all information for getting to them.

It should be mentioned that the magnetic, vitrified stone of Tap o' Noth and Dunodeer contains about 10 per cent. of iron; while the same stone, in its natural state in the neighbourhood, contains about 14, but is not magnetic. The gentleman who analysed them for the Huntly Field Club remarks that the proportion of iron is much below what could be profitably worked.

NOTES OF A RAMBLE IN EAST ANGLIA.

BY T. CANN HUGHES, ESQ., M.A.

(Local Member of Council for Cheshire.)

(Read 7th Feb. 1894.)

A LONG series of duties in a densely populated northern city had prevented my obtaining my usual summer vacation, and it was only on Christmas Eve, or rather the Saturday before that day, when I got away for a short sojourn in country scenes, and amidst historic sights and shrines. Christmastide itself was spent in the "rare old city of Chester", whose beauties have long been dear to me as a native, and whose history is, in the main, well known to the antiquarian world. Only on the day after Bank-Holiday did I take train, and was borne along through the midst of a landscape brightened by sunshine and keen frost, through Rugby and Northampton and Cambridge (of which more anon) to the "bright little town" (*pace* Charles Dickens) of Bury St. Edmund's. Here, indeed, was a feast for a lover of historic lore.

I knew Bury of old, having spent many a pleasant hour with my present host, Dr. Joseph Squier Hinnell, a fellow-collegian of fourteen years ago. I was well acquainted with the fine old Abbey and the two grand gateways, and the sister churches of St. Mary and St. James, with their monuments. The Abbot's Bridge, too, and Moyses Hall and Thingoe Hill were not forgotten on former visits.

On this occasion, however, only one fresh object of interest attracted attention, and that for a special purpose, the Museum of the local Society in the Bury Atheneum. Here I found a fine collection of books, and a very good assortment of Roman and other relics, some curious carving (cornices and corbels) from one of the local churches, but not the "misereres" of which I was in search. The courteous Curator informed me that never, during his tenure of office, had they been under his care. The local histories say that the carved "misereres" formerly existent in the Church of St. James, hard by,

are preserved in this Museum, and this negative evidence was therefore valuable. Where they are seems a mystery. Mr. Henry Prigg (the Curator said), had he been alive, could have doubtless told me their whereabouts ; but, alas ! for the interests of our Association, he is numbered with the dead.

On Thursday morning I set out in earnest on my archaeological ramble, the main object of my quest being carved "misereres", and general church architecture a subsidiary study.

I was first driven through country lanes to the fine parish church of *Rougham*. It is dedicated to St. Mary, and consists of the chancel, nave, aisles, fine south porch, and interesting tower at the west end of the church. The chancel, nave, and porch are Decorated ; the aisles and tower, in the main, Perpendicular. The church has been restored ; and the stalls, if they ever existed, are gone. There are some very good poppy-head bench-ends, and some with animal finials. There is a fair east window and a low side-window (which has been filled up). There are no traces of a rood screen. There is a noteworthy timber roof with hammer-beams formed of angels. The font is Decorated. The sides of the porch are curious, having three open lights on either side. The tower is massive, and of great beauty. The church is built of the flints customary in East Anglia. On the south battlement of the tower is the inscription, "Pray for the soule of John Tillot." In a chapel is the very fine brass of Sir Robert Drury (1418) and his wife (1405).

In the churchyard some coins of Cnut have been found, but in whose possession they now are I was unable to learn.

From here I was driven on to *Great Barton*. Here, again, was a most beautiful edifice, dedicated to Holy Innocents. It has an Early English chancel. Near the priest's door is a curious coffin-lid which bears on its surface a cross ; it is built into the outside wall, with an arched recess over it. The tower is Perpendicular, very fine, well proportioned, and doubly embattled. There are no "misereres", but bench-ends of interest ; also some fragments of ancient glass in various windows.

Hence we returned to Bury St. Edmund's, and in the

afternoon I walked out to *Fornham All Saints* to see my friend the Rector, the Rev. Charles Lett Feltoe, whose bent is distinctly antiquarian, and who is, in his loving interest in the edifice under his care, a pattern to all his clerical brethren. This church, though not so fine as Great Barton, has much of interest. It has been restored under the direction of Sir Arthur Blomfield. The lower part of the tower and the north door are Transitional Norman ; but in the latter, the restoration of the pillars, separated from, and not built into, the main structure, seems curious. The chancel is Decorated, and there is some graceful tracery in the east window. There are no carved stalls remaining. The brasses to Dr. Barwick (1599), Thomas Manoch (1608), Mary Manoch (1615), have been placed on the wall of the north transept. The church, in general form, reminded me very much of that of West Thurrock, near to Grays, Essex. The living is in the gift of Clare College, Cambridge; and several well-known scholars have been amongst its rectors, and are interred in the churchyard. A description of the church, with an illustration and a ground-plan, will be found in Gage's *History of the Hundred of Thingoe*, with much interesting information on the history of the parish.

One of the brasses has the following words upon it, most needful now as heretofore : "Let noe man stèle away this brasse but hee who knowes himself unworthie memorie." The bells are interesting. They are four in number. (1) and (2) are inscribed, "John Draper made me, 1623"; (3) has "+ Hāc in conclave Gabriel nunc pange suave", in old English lettering ; (4), "John Draper made me, 1624." The third has three Norwich ermine shields.

Mr. Feltoe informed me that there was one "miserere" at Fornham St. Martin converted into a reading-desk, but I had not the chance to see and describe it.

On the following morning I had intended to visit the churches of Lavenham, Sudbury, and Cockfield, and to describe the "misereres" which exist there; but I received a letter from Mr. T. A. Martin, barrister, my colleague in the work, stating that he had details of these churches, and requesting I would go further afield. I was sorry to miss Mr. Method, F.S.A., who was most kind in inviting me to Lavenham.

I set out early for Cavendish, a quaint village on the borders of an extensive green, with curious old-world inns and posting-houses. At the end of its one long, straggling street I found the church, surrounded by a group of trees. Here again I learned, to my disappointment, that though "misereres" had existed within the memory of persons living, they had been "restored" away some years ago. The church (which is dedicated to St. Mary) is mainly Perpendicular, but contains traces of earlier work. There has been a chapel on the north side of the chancel, the piscina of which still remains. There is a fine, flat timber roof. The tower is very striking. It is late Early English with buttresses. The tower story is vaulted, and contains lancet-windows. The second story has a curious original fireplace. There are two chained books, one being Jewell's *Defence of the Apologie of the Church of England*, 1611; and the other has lost its title-page. They have been rebound. There is an unusual crown on the belfry, somewhat similar to that at St. Giles', Edinburgh; and an outside bell; and an altar-tomb, which is placed at right angles to the altar, on its left-hand side. There is a rare token from here, by Thomas Fuller, undated.

After rambling around this pleasant village, I walked on two miles to *Clare*; and here a rare archaeological treat awaited me. Seldom, I think, have I seen, in a town of such a size, so very much to repay a visit. I first bent my steps to the beautiful church. It is dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and consists of chancel and nave, both aisled; north and south porches, the latter with a chapel on its east side. There is a good west doorway, and the woodwork of the doors is worthy of notice. There is a handsome brass memorial to the late Duke of Albany, erected by the local Lodge of Free-masons. The woodwork in the chancel is very good, but no "misereres" remain. There is a beautiful Perpendicular font.

The church contains a peal of eight bells inscribed as follow:—

Treble. "Given by voluntary subscription, 1781. Mears fecit."

2nd. "Mears of London fecit, 1829."

3rd. "Miles Graye made me, 1640", with a shield of arms.

4th.

"Whilst thus we join in cheerful sound,
Let love and loyalty abound."

Mears, London, fecit 1779."

5th. "Miles Graye made me, 1661."

6th. "John Dier made mee, 1579."

7th. "O trinitas sancta campanam istam conserva."

The initial letter of every word is crowned.

Tenor. "Charles Newman made mee, 1695."

"John Kenyon, Vic.; William Wade, C. W."

The word "John" on the 6th is reversed.

The Clare Registers contain many interesting entries.
The following memorandum is probably unique:

"Memorandum that I Susan Ward of Clare doe resigne all my right in John Mamon to Susan frost so that they proceed to marriag in witness of the truth herof I the said Susan Ward have set my hand this the 5 of Januarie.

"witnes John Prentice

The mark of

"Susan + Ward."

In the churchyard are many monuments of the worthy burghers of this once thriving town. There are two staircases to the rood-loft.

From the church I strolled round the quaint old town, and had a pleasant chat with Mr. Stokoe, the genial chemist-photographer, in the Market-Place. Having refreshed the inner man at the Bell Hostelry, and seen the Bear and Crown Inn (formerly the Wool Hall), and an interesting house dated 1347, in the street close to the church, and having a highly ornamental plaster front with the three chevronels which form the Clare arms, I inspected Clare Hall and the fine ruins of the Castle, of which the keep is imposingly placed, overlooking the Railway Station.

There have been many interesting discoveries in Clare and the neighbourhood. Roman urns were found in 1856 between Clare and Cavendish; and a very handsome, good reliquary was discovered at Clare Castle in Dec. 1865. Mr. Napper has argued in the *East Anglian* that Clare is the site of the Roman station Cambretonum. William Colte, of Clare, issued a token in 1664.

From Clare I walked on to *Stoke-by-Clare*, a pretty village with a church dedicated to St. Augustine, pleasantly nestling in trees. The chancel and nave are both aisled. The tower joins the church irregularly. The font is very good; and there are some exquisite bench-ends, some old glass, and some brasses. There were once some "misereres" in this church, but they are all gone. The church was formerly collegiate for seven secular canons. The pulpit is the smallest in Suffolk, handsomely decorated. Its internal diameter is only 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

From Stoke I passed to *Long Melford*, and after walking up the one long street which forms the village reached Long Melford Hall, a fine old mansion on the right hand of the road; and, noticing on the right a fine specimen of domestic architecture with a porch of which the pillars were figures of a man and woman, I crossed the spacious village green, and came to the Hospital founded in 1580 by Sir William Cordell. After passing this one has a full view of the very noble church of Long Melford, without exception the finest specimen of church architecture I inspected in my week's ramble.

The church is a rectory, dedicated to Holy Trinity, and is of the latest Perpendicular work of very fine character. There is a beautiful south porch. The walls, of flint and the stone of the country, are like inlaid work. The interior is most impressive; the east window very fine; the massive timber roof is worthy of note. Beyond the main church is the Clopton Chapel with its piscina, double sedile, and inscribed ceiling. This church in itself was worth my journey from the North to visit, and is, I think, the finest parish church I have ever inspected.

On the following morning I commenced my rambles early, and passing *Pakenham* with its Norman tower I reached the extremely interesting church at *Norton*. I must pay a tribute to the great courtesy extended to me by the Rev. Horatio Nelson Grimley. Here I at last was rewarded by finding a most curious set of "misereres", of which the following description may prove of interest:—

North side, beginning east.—Elbow, cowled head.

1. Martyrdom of St. Edmund. Supporters, archers. Elbow, angel with shield.

2. Monk at meditation. Same subject at Worcester.
Supporters, floral. Elbow, griffin.

South side, beginning east.—Elbow, gargoyle.

1. Martyrdom of St. Andrew, patron Saint of church.
Supporters, floral. Elbow, monk with a casket.
2. Pelican in piety. Supporters, floral. Inscription,
“In omne op'e memento finis.” Elbow, head.
3. Female blowing fire. Supporters, floral. Elbow,
floral. Elbow, angel.
4. Man struggling with lion. Supporters, floral.
Elbow, monkey.
5. Manticora, broken. Supporters, floral. Elbow,
two monks playing leapfrog.
6. Two dogs or foxes. Supporters, floral. Elbow, dogs.

The stalls are fixed on metal hinges.

There is a very fine Perpendicular font, beautifully carved, having the symbols of the Evangelists on four of its faces, and on others, the pelican, unicorn, and double-headed eagle, all favourite subjects on “miserere” stalls. There are some poppy-heads, and some beautiful glass, much of which yet requires description and elucidation. The bells in the church tower are of great interest, and are fully described by that excellent antiquary, Canon Raven, in his *Church Bells of Suffolk*.

From Norton Mr. Grimley directed me over the fields (beautiful in their covering of frozen snow) to the superbly situated church of St. George at *Stowlangtoft*. This church is said to have been erected by Robert Day, of Ashfield, in 1340. It is, therefore, Early Perpendicular in the main. There is a piscina at the south-east end of the nave. The font is octagonal, and elaborate in its details. The monuments of the D'Ewes family, in the chancel, are noticeable.

The following is a detailed description of the fine stalls. There are only six stalls. All are re-turned.

On north side.—Elbow, griffin.

1. Pelican. Supporters, grotesque heads. Elbow,
mask.
2. Horned and winged bull. Supporters, grotesque
monk. Elbow, grotesque head.
3. Winged lion. Supporters, griffins. Elbow, cowled
mask.

On south side.—Elbow, head.

1. Winged bull. Supporters, angels on clouds.
Elbow, head.
2. Crowned angel bearing label. Supporters, sun-heads. Elbow, griffin backwards : head gone.
3. Dragon, very spirited. Supporters, Tudor roses.
Elbow, cowled head.

I have careful measurements. The stalls are fixed on wooden pivots, and there is evidence of their having been more numerous. There are four bells :

- Tenor.* "John Draper made me, 1631."
2. "J. D., 1614."
 3. "+ Subveniat digna donantibus hanc Katerina." This bell is in black-letter, and bears Brazier's diapered shield.
 4. "+ For the service of God. Cast at the expense of Henry Wilson, Esq., 1856. Taylor and Son, founders, Loughborough."

From Stowlangtoft I walked through pretty Suffolk lanes to *Hunston*, a small, and from the outside most disappointing edifice. It is dedicated to St. Michael, and is of Early English architecture. The east window has three lancet-lights. The south priest's door is very beautiful, the head being in the form of a segmental arch, trefoliated. There is little else to notice in the church. There are three small bells ; two dated 1614 and 1617.

Hence I went on to *Woolpit*, a truly beautiful church with a fine spire. It is dedicated to St. Mary. The roof is most ornate with hammer-heads, and there is one "miserere" stall in the chancel. The south porch is very fine Perpendicular, with a groined roof. The rood-screen is the feature of the church, and is one of the very best in East Anglia. It has recently been redecorated under the direction of the Rev. James Hipwell, Vicar of Elmswell, who was formerly Curate of Woolpit.

From this place I retraced my steps to *Elmswell*, where the Vicar received me most courteously, and conducted me over his church, dedicated to St. John. The tower and porch are good flint work. The fine octagonal font, of Decorated period, is supported on four eagles.

On the Sunday morning I went over to *Hawstead*, a very fine church, where Mr. Gibson Cullum, F.S.A., of

Hardwick Hall, had kindly arranged for his Vicar, Rev. Leslie Mercer, to show me all the lions of the locality. In the churchyard one of the late Vicars lies between his two wives.

The church is fully described, with illustrations, in Gage's *History of Thingoe Hundred*. The church is dedicated to All Saints. The chancel is Early English, with Decorated and Perpendicular insertions. The font is plain, but believed to be very ancient. There are no "misereres"; but a portion of the rood-screen with an interesting Sanctus bell on the top. The lectern is good Perpendicular. In the north wall of the chancel is a figure of a knight lying below the present level of the church. The brass, just outside the chancel, of Sir Wm. Drury, two wives, and thirteen daughters, is worthy of notice. There are several fine monuments in the chancel.

In the churchyard is a base of an interesting cross with apparently interlaced work.

The last day of the old year was closed by attending service at the fine church of St. James, in Bury St. Edmund's.

On Wednesday I went on to Cambridge, where I inspected the very fine Romanist church in Hills Road, and explored the interior of the quaint old building in Trinity Street, until recently used as Foster's Bank, and spent some time in wandering through the various colleges. In the evening I dined at the Founder's Feast at my own College of Pembroke, founded in 1347 by Lady Mary de Valence, Countess of Pembroke, and was much interested in the old customs of the toasting, "In piam memoriam fundatoris nostræ", which were carried out to the letter. The ritual observed was very impressive. We drank from the famous "anathema cup" presented to the College by Cardinal Wolsey, and two men stood up diagonally opposite each other; and as one sat down, the corresponding man opposite got up; and the man who remained standing passed on the cup to the new man, repeating the Latin form.

I had intended to accept the kindly extended hospitality of Canon Raven at Fressingfield, and under the leadership of that distinguished campanologist and antiquary to visit several Norfolk churches; but the bitter weather compelled me to seek warmer climes, and thus ended my winter ramble in East Anglia.

NOTES ON AMERICAN TUMULI.

BY DR. A. C. FRYER.

(Read 4th April 1894.)

AN American writer has said recently that "there is no truth in the attractive notion that once a mighty nation occupied the Valley of the Mississippi, with its frontier-settlements resting on the lake-shores and Gulf-coast, nestling in the Valley of the Appalachian Range, and skirting the broad plains of the West,—a nation with its systems of government and religion, which has disappeared, leaving behind it no evidence of its glory, power, and extent, save the mounds and what they contain."

These mounds are of many and various shapes; but their usual form is a low, broad, round-topped cone; and we are told that some of them attain a height of 80 or even 90 ft., with a diameter of 300 ft. at the base. Others, which appear to have been rarely used for burial purposes, are constructed like walls, and are 20, or even in some cases 40 ft. wide, 3 or 4 ft. high, and 100 ft. long.

The reason for the erection of these mounds is still a mystery. The so-called effigy-mounds are found in Wisconsin and in parts of Iowa. These mounds are said to represent birds and many kinds of mammals,—deer, antlered elks, bears, rabbits, etc. Some of the birds have a spread of 250 ft. from one wing-tip to the other wing-tip; and it seems probable that some of the mounds which were formerly supposed to represent men, are swallow-tailed birds. The so-called "elephant" mound is now thought to represent a bear. "One of the most remarkable features of these effigies", says a writer who has studied them, "is the imitative curving and rounding of the bodies of the animals. Looking over a specimen which has suffered but little wearing away by weather or other causes, it is difficult to get rid of the notion that the builders actually had the animal lying before them when they constructed the mound."

During the past few years a great advance has been

made in the knowledge of these mounds, which are scattered over the greater part of the United States in vast numbers. It is now considered that the box-shaped stone graves, with the mounds containing them, found in Kentucky and northern Georgia, are the work of the Shawnee Indians, while those in the Valley of the Delaware and in Ohio were created by the Delawares. In northern Mississippi the tumuli are principally attributed to the Chickasaws, and those in the Gulf States to the Muskokee tribes. It is also thought that the mounds in the Kanawha Valley, West Virginia, in western North Carolina, and in eastern Tennessee, were created by the Cherokees.

In one tumulus in Iowa eleven skeletons were discovered in the central chamber. These were arranged in a circle, with their backs against the walls, while a sea-shell, which had been converted into a drinking-horn, had been placed in their midst. In cavities in this mound, dust (which is supposed to have been the ashes of burnt flesh) was discovered, while in other mounds a "peculiar, black, felt-like substance" (which is thought to have been human flesh) was found. An American writer, speaking of these discoveries, says, "Many tribes of Indians, in ancient times, made a practice of removing the flesh from the bones of the dead, commonly by exposing the bodies on elevated platforms, where they were permitted to undergo the processes of decay. Very likely the practice had its origin in an obvious precaution against the digging up of corpses by hungry wild beasts."

In another mound in Iowa, a skeleton measuring 7 ft. 6 in. in length was found. A collar of bears' teeth was around the neck, while numbers of small copper beads, formed by rolling strips of the metal into little rings, were across the thighs. It has been conjectured that these beads may have adorned a hunting-shirt.

There were many mounds surrounded by a wall of earth on a farm¹ in Bollinger County, Missouri. The cultivation of the soil for forty years has unfortunately levelled them to a considerable extent. However, it appears that some years ago two stone coffins were dis-

¹ Mr. Peter Bess was the owner of this farm.

covered while ploughing. Each coffin contained a skeleton, and a gourd-like vessel, filled with lead, had been placed with one of them. The owner of the farm is said to have found the lead so pure that he afterwards melted it into bullets.

During the last few years we learn that more than two thousand mounds have been excavated, and pins, needles, bracelets, silver brooches, pearls, engraved shells, a silver plate with the shield of arms of Spain, a fur-covered brass-nailed trunk, a copper kettle, and many other things have been discovered. Many of these articles point to the fact that mound-building and also burial in mounds were carried on long after the white races had landed on the shores of America. "In fact", says Major T. W. Powell, "I myself have seen such mounds in process of construction by Indians. There has never been an atom of evidence to prove that any other race than the Indians themselves was concerned in the erection of these works."

It is interesting to notice how articles obtained by barter on the coast passed from tribe to tribe, and how sea-shells are found in the mounds of Illinois and Wisconsin, while in the mounds of West Virginia articles made from native Wisconsin copper have been discovered.

The opening of these tumuli seems to prove that the Indian did not adopt the habit of roaming until after the invasion of the whites. He seems to have cultivated the land, and it has been demonstrated that maize was his chief food. American students now tell us that "these tumuli were never built for sacrificial purposes"; and the oldest mounds are those of the most elaborate patterns, such as the effigies.

Where the Indians did originally come from is still a question in dispute among American students. Dr. Brinton considers that they may have come from Europe during the great ice-age, by way of a land-connection which once existed over the Northern Atlantic. Others, however, think some arrived from the Pacific, and others from the Atlantic side, and after a long period were moulded into a homogeneous race. Much has been written on this question, and the last word in the controversy has not yet been said.

THE

ORIGIN OF THE PARISH CHURCH BUILDINGS
AND INSTITUTIONS IN BRITAIN
IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

BY R. DUPPA LLOYD, ESQ., F.R.HIST.S.

(Read 21st March 1894.)

THE historical or archæological records, that can be depended upon to retrace or evince the origin of the institutions and architectural constructions of early Christianity, are exceedingly rare, for from the first up to the commencement of the third century the Christians had usually held their assemblies (to which they gave the name of churches)¹ in private houses. The very first notice of such meeting may be said to be given by the Saviour (St. Matthew, chap. xxvi, v. 18), "I will keep the Passover at thy *house*." After the Resurrection the Apostles assembled at a *house*. St. Peter held an assembly at Jaffa, in the *house* of Simon the tanner. St. Paul held an assembly of the church in an upper *chamber*, when the young man fell from the third story. Uncovered, in the open air of the Areopagus, St. Paul held forth on the catholic doctrine that maketh one blood of all nations and peoples, and the Lord of heaven and earth, who dwelleth not in *temples* or *buildings* made with hands; so that, at this epoch of Christianity, no *ecclesiastical* or *sacerdotal* construction was even thought of.

From the death of St. Paul and St. Peter, in 66, and during the time of the Empire under Nero (64 to 68),² Domitian (95), Trajan (106), Marcus Aurelius (166 and 167), and Septimus Severus (199, 204), the Christians held their assemblies in private houses, in sequestered, desert places, in ruined temples, ancient tombs, subterraneous excavations, and catacombs.

¹ The collective body of Christians which gradually formed an independent, republican state in the heart of the Empire.

² The ten persecutions of the primitive Christians.

About the beginning of the third century (that is, after Septimus Severus died at York, in Britain), the Christians were permitted, for the first time, to erect and consecrate convenient edifices for the purpose of religious worship, to purchase lands for the use of the churches, and to conduct the assemblies for the election of their ecclesiastical ministers in public. During this long repose of the Church, the ancient laws of persecution against the Christians, *without being repealed*, were suffered to sink into oblivion, and the disciples of Christ passed a long interval of peace and prosperity. The rapid progress and extension of the Church through every part of the Empire, especially through Gaul and Britain, awakened the enemies from their supine indifference to what had been looked upon, up to this time, as an obscure sect.

The bishops held an honourable rank in their respective provinces, and almost in every city the church buildings were found insufficient to contain the vast multitudes of proselytes, and many more capacious and splendid edifices were erected. It is probable that the first ideas in Europe of church architecture were taken from the catacombs, the ruined towers, and the circular tombs of the ancient Etruscans and Romans.

About the end of the third century we find Galerius and Maximian, the subordinate Emperors to Diocletian, entertained the most implacable aversion for the religion of the Christians, and during the winter of 303 it was determined to set bounds, in every part of the Empire, to the progress of Christians. On the 24th Feb. 303, the edict against the Christians was issued by Diocletian for the destruction of the church buildings¹ in all the provinces of the Empire, that all the volumes of Scripture should be burnt, and sentence of death was denounced against all who should hold any assembly in *any building* whatever for the purpose of religious worship.

The consideration of these events brings us down to the epoch of the mild administration of Constantius Chlorus in the subordinate station of a Cæsar in Britain (292-306). All his principal officers at Eboracum (York) were

¹ The demolition of the church buildings of Nicomedia.

Christians ; but he dared not reject the edicts of Diocletian, or disobey the commands of Maximian. He was closely watched by the Spaniard Detianus. It is generally agreed that the proto-martyr of Britain, St. Alban, of Verulam in Hertfordshire, suffered martyrdom during events of the edict of Diocletian, and the reign of Constantius in Britain, about 303, and of course the destruction or the abandonment of all church *buildings*.¹

The violence of this policy came to an end during the civil wars between the Emperors and the Cæsars until the month of March 313, when Constantine and Licinius promulgated the famous edict of Milan, giving peace to the Church, and absolute power to the Christians to follow their religion, and to empower them to *build* and obtain suitable *conventicles* for the purposes of their assemblies.

It is important to record that neither the founder nor any of the immediate disciples left any specific directions either as to ceremonies or arrangement of *buildings suitable* for a priesthood, nor any rules for the liturgical forms or sacerdotal government of the Church.

The Christians up to this epoch had been indebted for preservation to their regular discipline, union, obedience, and subordination to the presbyters and bishops of a superior metropolitan or pontiff, throughout the whole extent of the Empire, from the Euphrates to the Clyde, without any distinction of peoples or nationalities. They began with great enthusiasm to rebuild, repair, and beautify their churches, and to make use of the basilicas or public halls either of justice, exchange, or other business, which had been conceded to them. The plan of the basilica was adopted in after ages, and became a title of honour to metropolitan churches ; and from this epoch may be dated the indissoluble connection of civil and ecclesiastical affairs in the government of the Empire,—originating the Church and State of the modern nationalities throughout Europe.

But at this epoch came into powerful activity monachism, or the institutions of monastic life, differing totally in form and principle from imperial and episcopal organ-

¹ The antiquity of church buildings referred by Tillemont to the time of Alexander Severus for the first construction, 222-35 ; others refer to the peace of Gallienus, 232-68.

isation. During the severities of the early persecutions many Christians fled to remote wilds of the deserts of the Thebais, and took refuge among the tombs and lonely, ruined temples and towers in upper Egypt. Under the guidance of Antony (b. 251, d. 356), Basilee (b. 329, d. 379), and Pacôme (b. 292, d. 348), Anthony, a man of great wealth, gave up all his lands and property, and supported himself by agricultural labour on the borders of Egypt.

There gathered around St. Anthony¹ a swarm of refugees and devoted followers, and the first rudiments of a monastery and monastic life grew up in these remote regions, near the vastly ancient ruins of Pyramids, tombs, and Temples of the Sun. In after ages there can be little doubt that the knowledge of the science of agriculture, the legends of religion and poetry, the arts and science of architecture, were diffused all over Europe, but more especially in Britain, by the migration of the monks of Egypt.

To Pacôme or Pachomius is attributed the first complete organisation of monachism, the foundation of cloisters, chapters, and the several classes of monk, each with all the architectural appurtenances suitable for every sort and station of social life, from the lowest labourer to that of the lordly and powerful abbot.

In the distracted state of the Empire and the Church about 326 arose the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt, occupied by the immortal Athanasius. He frequently travelled to the confines of Nubia, humbly associating with the populace, the saints, the hermits, and the monks of St. Anthony. Athanasius (296-373) was five times driven into exile; the first time, in 335, to Treves in Gaul, and afterwards he took refuge in Rome, in 341.

Athanasius introduced into Rome the leading Egyptian monks and the knowledge of the monastic life, with its science of labour, agriculture, and the arts of architecture, differing entirely from the episcopal systems of the West. The progress of the monks westward was rapid and universal. With the assistance of the established Bishops, Ambrose of Milan (340-97), St. Augustine (354-

¹ Anthony ultimately fixed his residence on Mount Colyim, near the Red Sea. Pachomius occupied the Island of Taberme, in the Nile, near to Denderah.

430), Martin of Tours (316-97), and St. Jerome (331-420), the monasteries in Gaul and Britain were established. Glastonbury, with Bangor in Flintshire (which contained more than two thousand monks), diffused over Ireland and the northern regions the arts, the sciences, and the social institutions of the Eastern and Egyptian monks.

About the end of the fourth century (that is, from 370-394, about the time of Gratian and Valentinian II), the son of a British Roman chieftain, Ninias or Ninian, was sent to Rome to study the orthodoxy and discipline of the Church. Ninian undertook to establish a monastery in the British Roman province of Valentia. In returning from Rome he stayed at Tours, in Gaul, and applied to St. Martin, the Bishop of Tours, to furnish him with *plans* and *masons*, so as to enable him to construct a church according to the usages of Rome. This new Cathedral and Monastery adjoining, under the denomination of Candida Casa (or White Horn),¹ was consecrated to St. Martin, the Apostle of the Gauls. Ninian returned from his northern mission, to die in his Monastery, about 452 A.D. This is the first and only authentic record of any masonic architectural construction in Britain, for the specific service of the Church, which served as a type and example in future for ecclesiastical buildings.

Of all countries that have risen from the destruction and *débris* of the Roman² Empire, England or Britain is the most indebted to the monks for its wealth of agriculture and industry, with the arts of civilisation. Their existence was a long struggle against a rude climate and painful experiences in forest-labours. They consecrated their lives entirely to the transformation of lands of wild brushwood and heaths into fine, productive pastures and arable lands. The inaccessible marshes were turned into fisheries and irrigation-works, and the results of their science and industry were the vast landed properties of which posterity has received and enjoyed the benefits. Their text, "Qui non vult operari, nec manducet", was followed by the constant application of the maxim, "Labores manuum tuarum manducabis." There was no exaggeration in the legendary metaphor that the

¹ Horn = hern = aern = ærn, *maison*, house.

² There were ninety-two considerable Roman towns in Britain. In thirty-three of these cities there were distinguished Roman families.

lands were ploughed by the cross of the Saviour, and where the Saint Abbot struck his staff, the kindly fruits of the earth, for the existence of mankind, arose.

But now began the first dawn of a great, silent revolution which ultimately changed entirely the British character, and destroyed the wealth and existence of the Celtic monastic civilisation ; a revolution which destroyed the independence of Britain, and substituted a foreign hierarchy in the Church, by gradually making over to the foreign monks and foreign monasteries of the Benedictines of Monte Cassino¹ all the wealth, properties, and *prestige* in Britain, and the complete supremacy of the Papacy with the Roman Pontiff over all the churches and the monasteries in Britain, of whatever origin or antiquity.

This Papal Benedictine conquest of Britain was brought about by the conversion of the pagan Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and the Teutonic invaders, by the missionaries from Rome of the Benedictine monk, Pope Gregory, who established themselves among the pagan Jutes at Canterbury, under Augustine, and who gradually forced on their Saxon converts to destroy the Celtic Church independence, and to replace the Celtic monks and abbots by foreign and native Saxon or Teutonic people, under the strict domination of the Benedictine Roman Papacy.

When the Emperor Honorius abandoned the province of Britain, in 410, the Celtic Britons were the only people of the Roman Empire who had a glorious history of wars and defence of their country and their freedom against the vast flow of Teutonic barbarian invaders.

The Celtic monastic Church could not succeed in creating a new social world with the Teutonic barbarians, neither could it transform the baseness of Rome, or maintain its own integrity. The Church was confined, through centuries, to the moral world ; it emancipated the souls and the spiritual life of mankind, apart from its political existence. But the time had come when Britain, with its institutions, should be forced into the political arena of

¹ St. Benedict (St. Benoît), born at Nursie (Norcia), in Umbria, 480, died 553. Monte Cassino, near the small Neapolitan town, San Germano, the cradle-Abbey of 37,000 Benedictine Monasteries before the end of the thirteenth century,—the Sinai of Europe.

the nations. The Benedictine monk, soldier, statesman, and greatest of the Sovereign Pontiffs of Rome, undertook the conversion of the Saxons and the entire spiritual conquest of the island of Britain by the establishment of the complete supremacy of the Roman Pontiff over all the churches of Britain, of whatever origin or antiquity.

A brief retrospective review of the state of the population of Britain shortly before the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent, is necessary to form an idea of the position of the Church at Canterbury and its relation to the more ancient Churches of Britain.

The vast movement of the Asiatic people that submerged the Roman world, forced on the shores of Cimbrian, Loegrian, Celtic, and Roman Britain the *débris* of more than thirty war-bands, and tribes of Teutonic peoples, and strange adventurers,—the greatest part under the name of Jutes, Angles or Engles, East and Westphalian Low Germans, Saxons, Frisians, Flamands, and Franks; all attended by bands of slaves, and all equally ferocious and barbarous, who fought with each other, as well as with the more civilised Britons, for the plunder of the rich Roman provinces. Many of these bands retired into the wild fastnesses of moors, marshes, and mountains, to defend their marauding isolation, without being gathered to any of the numerous kingdoms which had replaced the Roman provinces; but they eventually grouped themselves into Northumbria of the Bernicians, Mercia of the Angles, Mercians, and Deirans, and Wessex of the South Saxons. The ancient Cambrians, Coranians, and Britons joined the Teutonic invaders to form the kingdoms of Mercia, Deira, and Bernicia. Cornwall, Wales (as far east as the Severn), North Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and all the west lowlands of Strathclyde, remained purely British and Celtic.

The name of the great Gregory will ever remain identified with the establishment of the Roman Church in England, and the word-play of the famous Roman deacon, "Not Angles, but angels", indicated his resolution to send missionaries to Britain. When Gregory¹ became Pope, the Roman Abbot, Augustine, was chosen, who landed in the Jute kingdom of Kent, in 597, and was

¹ Born 540, died 604.

conducted to the ancient church of St. Martin. The Roman faith, the Roman law, and the Latin language, were thus again introduced into Britain.

Pope Gregory being ignorant of the implacable hatred which the Celtic monks bore to the Teutonic invaders, and ill-informed as to the history and existence of the British monks, Christian clergy, and the Christian faith of the British people, imprudently constituted Augustine, with his Church, the absolute, supreme ecclesiastical Roman power over all Britain; but the irritable zeal of the haughty Britons opposed a jealous and obstinate resistance to these first pretensions of Rome, and they refused to join the Roman monks for the evangelisation of their Saxon enemies.

Augustine feeling his weakness and inability, constantly solicited the assistance of the Celtic clergy for the conversion of the pagan Saxons. Augustine sent Miletus into East Anglia and Essex, where he founded and constructed the Church of St. Paul, in London, on the ruins, and with the *débris*, of a Temple of Diana, and established himself there as the first Bishop of London. Justus was appointed Bishop of Rochester in the Cathedral of St. Andrew, his diocese comprising the Jute kingdom of Kent. When Augustine¹ died, his successor, Laurentius (who had been beforehand consecrated, at Rome, Archbishop), together with Miletus, founded the Abbey of St. Peter of Westminster, in Thorney Island, on the site of the ancient Temple of Apollo.

But now a dark shadow rose over the Church of Canterbury. The East Anglians and the Saxons of Essex, together with the Jutes, relapsed into a barbarous idolatry, renounced Christianity, plundered the churches and monasteries, and drove away their Bishop. Miletus and Justus, with all their clergy, decided to quit Britain and return to Rome. Of all the conquests that Augustine made, there remained only a few Christians grouped around their Archbishop, Laurentius, and the two great monastic sanctuaries at Canterbury, of Christ Church, and the Augustine Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul.

When the Pope (St. Gregory) sent Augustine to Kent,

¹ Augustine appointed Archbishop, 598; St. Lawrence, 611; Miletus, 617; Justus, 624.

he gave him instructions to send one of his companions to the ancient seat of Christianity, the Roman capital, York, as archbishop over twelve bishoprics, the foundations of which he indicated, and among which were Lincoln and Southwell. The Roman monk, Paulin, was appointed by Augustine *only a Bishop*; but Pope Honorius annulled this appointment, and sent the pallium to Paulin as Archbishop and Metropolitan of York. The apostacy of the Northumbrians and the pagan reaction drove Paulin away, and destroyed his churches. Paulin definitely abandoned York, took refuge at Canterbury, and died at Rochester: hence the existing distinction and rivalry of the two Metropolitan Churches.

The spiritual conquest of Britain, abandoned for a time by the Roman missionaries, was taken up by the Celtic monks of Lindisfarne.

Thirty years after the landing of Augustine in Kent, Oswald reigned over Northumbria, Bernicia, and Deira, with a mixed population of Angles, Scandinavians, Celts, Saxons, and Britons. He invoked the succour of the monks of Iona to convert and civilise his rude Teutonic subjects. Seghen, the fourth successor of St. Columba in his Metropolitan Monastery, received with enthusiasm the appeal, and with the concurrent assent of the whole community, Aidan, one of the greatest and most learned monks of Iona, was chosen Bishop and Missionary to Northumbria.

Aidan refused all connection with the vacant and abandoned bishopric of York, but planted his episcopal Monastery on the Island of Lindisfarne as the religious capital of all North Britain. Aidan and King Oswald rivalled each other for the conversion and civilisation of Northumbria. This greatest of the Celtic Bishops died 20th August 651. His successors were elected and appointed by the British monks; not like the Archbishops of Canterbury, who were nominated and instituted directly by Rome.

Finan's pontificate prospered from 651-61. His successor was Colman (661-64), the last of the episcopal Abbots, who was driven from his Monastery of Lindisfarne by the decision of the Council of Whitby,¹ through the

¹ The Conference of Whitby, 664.

intrigues, hatred, and power of the Saxon Wilfred, and only Benedictines henceforth were appointed to Lindisfarne.

The first great succursale of Lindisfarne was Melrose on Tweed; after came Kelso, Jedburgh, Dryburgh; then the great Nunneries of Tynemouth, Hartlepool, and Whitby arose. It was before the great Abbess Hilda,¹ of Hartlepool and Whitby, that Ceadmon, first poet of his race (the precursor of Chaucer and Byron), chanted the revolts of Satan, and *Paradise Lost*, one thousand years before Milton.

From the cloisters of Lindisfarne missionaries were sent into Mercia to evangelise and civilise that powerful state. The first Bishop was Dinnan, and the Mercian Church was exclusively Celtic, and independent of Canterbury, so that seventy years after the landing of the Benedictine Roman monks under Augustine, with the exception of the small and insignificant Jute kingdom of Kent, the whole establishment of the Christian civilisation in Britain was completely Celtic, and comprised all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy; that is, all the tribes of the foreign and Teutonic invaders, together with the débris of the Roman provincials, and the whole of the Celtic inhabitants. This result was due exclusively to the pacific zeal of the Iona and Lindisfarne monks, perfectly independent of Rome, and far surpassing in industry, science, and agriculture, with virtue and perseverance, the Roman Benedictine clergy then at Canterbury.

Now appeared one of the first of the line of great heroes of the Church of Rome, Wilfred,² who placed the whole power, prestige, and wealth of the British Church at the service of the Roman Pontiff. This noble Thane, Wilfred, was the descendant of Northumbrian kings,—haughty, licentious, proud, and arrogant. He loved luxuries, magnificence, pomp, and power. No Saxon has ever exercised an influence more decisive and sovereign than has Wilfred over the destinies of the Teutonic invaders of Britain. He was ready to sacrifice all interests

¹ Whitby was a double Monastery of monks and nuns, under the Princess Hilda.

² Wilfred, born 634; died at Oundle, near Northampton, 23 June 709.

whatever to the cause that he supported with enthusiasm during fifty years of indefatigable labour, obstinacy, and courage.¹ He made four perilous voyages to Rome, he arrogated to himself (without authorisation) the powers of Legate of all Britain, and constantly urged the Papacy of Rome to assume the imperial power in Britain. The enormous prestige of his power and wealth, added to the rivalry and struggle of races, and to his hatred of the Celts, caused him to devote all his powers and energies, first, to the neutralisation of the preponderance of the Celtic civilisation over the Teutonic kingdoms, and afterwards to the complete destruction of the Celtic churches and to the possession of the properties created by their virtues and industry; afterwards to the civilisation and unification of the Teutons by the introduction of the Roman laws and language, the appointment and consecration of all the higher clergy by the Pope, and the submission of the British Church to the Pontificate of Rome, with the adoption of all the ritual, usages, forms, and ceremonies sanctioned by the Papacy; thus gradually substituting Saxon and Roman Benedictines in all the ancient monasteries for the followers of St. Columba and Aidan.

Thus Wilfred, the Benedictines, and the Popes of Rome possessed themselves of the entire spiritual and temporal power, and thus sealed the complete conquest and subjugation of Britain by the Papacy. To him (Wilfred) is due that the Church became Roman Catholic, and that the properties of the ancient monasteries were, in after ages, held by a foreign hierarchy, whose title-deeds are still to be found inscribed on the bronze gates of the famous Monastery of Monte Cassino, the cradle Abbey of the Benedictines.

When the Archbishop of Canterbury died, in 667, through the influence of Wilfred the Saxon Benedictine monk Wighard, from Glastonbury, was designated his successor, and was instructed to proceed to Rome for consecration and ordination. Wighard arrived in Rome with an imposing escort of bishops and monks; and this

¹ He traversed France in 654, and returning from Rome spent more than three years at Aix and Lyons. He refused consecration in Britain, and went to Agilbert, Archbishop of Paris, who consecrated him at Compiègne.

was the first act of submission and public recognition of the supremacy and power of the Papacy. From this dates the real Roman and Benedictine conquest of the Church of Britain. Wighard, with many of his attendants, died at Rome during the great plague, and Wilfred urged the Pope to seize the occasion, and employ his supremacy in the appointment of a successor, apparently with the expectation of being named himself; but the Pope, Vitalien (658-72), far too wise and politic to trust the hostile character of the Saxon Wilfred, fixed his choice upon Adrian, from the Vandal province of Africa, who was then Abbot of St. Martino in Naples. He was a perfect master of the Roman discipline and of the knowledge of Latin and Greek, but entirely ignorant of any of the languages of Gaul or Britain. Adrian refused to be made Archbishop, but proposed one of his *confrères*,¹ monk Theodore, a Greek, born at Tarsus in Asia, to be the Metropolitan of all Britain, and himself to accompany him, so as to ensure that no Greek heresy, or any form contrary to the Church of Rome, should be introduced.

Theodore was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, at Rome, the 26th March 668; and Benoit Biscop, a Northumbrian Benedictine monk at Rome, was appointed Abbot of the Monastery of St. Peter, afterwards known as the Augustine Abbey of Canterbury. This Asiatic Greek, the African Vandal, and Northumbrian monk, were invested with supreme authority, both spiritual and temporal, over all the Churches of Great Britain, of whatever origin or antiquity, and completed the work of the Roman Benedictine usurpation and subjection to the Pope Vitalien which was begun by Augustine under St. Gregory.

The anomalous designation of this acquisition to Italian civilisation as the Anglo-Saxon Church, is clearly the result of a mischievous delusion. The first thirty-eight Archbishops of Canterbury were Benedictine monks, and the four first successors of St. Augustine were Italians taken from the Monastery of St. Andrew on Monte Cœlius, in Rome. They were directly nominated by St. Gregory and the succeeding Popes. Thus the Church in

¹ "Surnommé 'Le Philosophe'. Il avait 66 ans." (Bede, *Hist. Abbatum*, c. iii; cf. *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iv, 1.)

Great Britain became the most glorious and precious acquisition of the monks of the great Neapolitan Abbey of Monte Cassino for the Papacy.

Theodore came to Britain with a clearly determined resolution to steer clear of all schisms between the ancient British and Saxon Christians, and to neutralise the prejudices and hatreds of races, and the rivalries of the numerous kings and states. He came with the resolution to establish, and to represent in his person, the unity of the Church and the intellectual life of the clergy, with submission to the Sovereign Pontiff of the Papacy, and to all the rules, forms, and discipline of the Monte Cassino Benedictines; his object being the civilisation of the people, and the political unification of Britain, by the introduction of the arts, the sciences, and the learning, together with the language of the canon and civil laws of Rome. In all his organisations he was strongly supported by his *confrères*, the monks Adrian and Biscop, and by his contemporaries, the Venerable Bede and St. Cuthbert.

Theodore travelled through all the Teutonic kingdoms and Celtic states of Britain, and was everywhere accepted as the sole Primate of a unified National Church. He divided Britain into dioceses and parishes, with resident bishops, secular clergy, and parish priests, apart from the Celtic monasteries, to which he caused to be appointed learned Benedictine abbots and Italian monks. He instituted lay guardians and masons, with church-rates and a form of tithes for the architectural structures, and for the introduction of Gregorian music, together with the institution of charities, and the reformation of the village festivities of the people.

He first instituted, in 693, a synod or parliament of bishops, abbots, and other laymen authorities, to meet once a year to represent all the nationalities and peoples of the One United Church. It appears to be impossible to deny that upon these organisations the whole social and political life of the future peoples of the villages and country of England moulded and developed themselves, and originated the union of a British Empire with a National Church. The archæology and records of this time would be the history of the parish church and the local life of the country.

PLANS OF DISCOVERIES LATELY MADE IN
THE NAVE OF REPTON CHURCH,
DERBYSHIRE.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

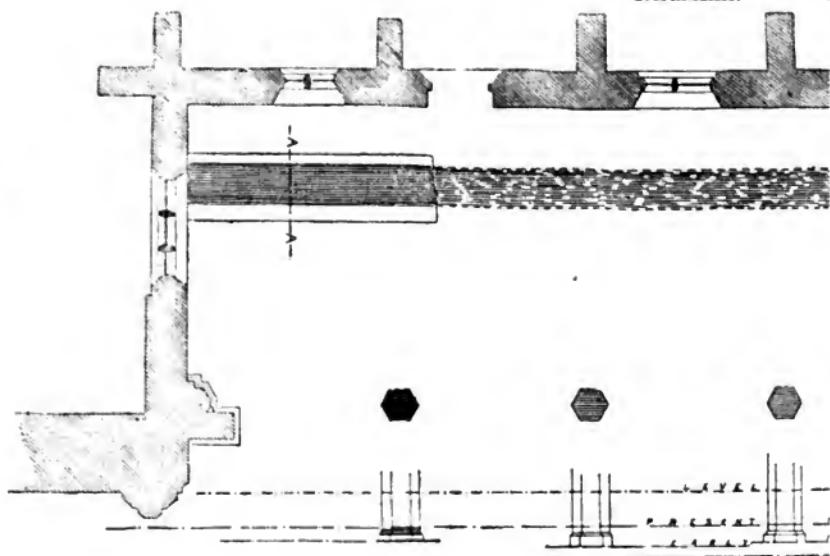
(*Read 21st March 1894.*)

SOME years ago I obtained plans and drawings of the Saxon and Norman work in the undercroft below the choir of this church, which appeared afterwards in the *Reports of the Derbyshire Natural History and Antiquarian Society*—information that accident has since enabled me largely to extend through the nave and aisles, westwards, throwing much light on other early changes, by which the structure has been brought into its present state.

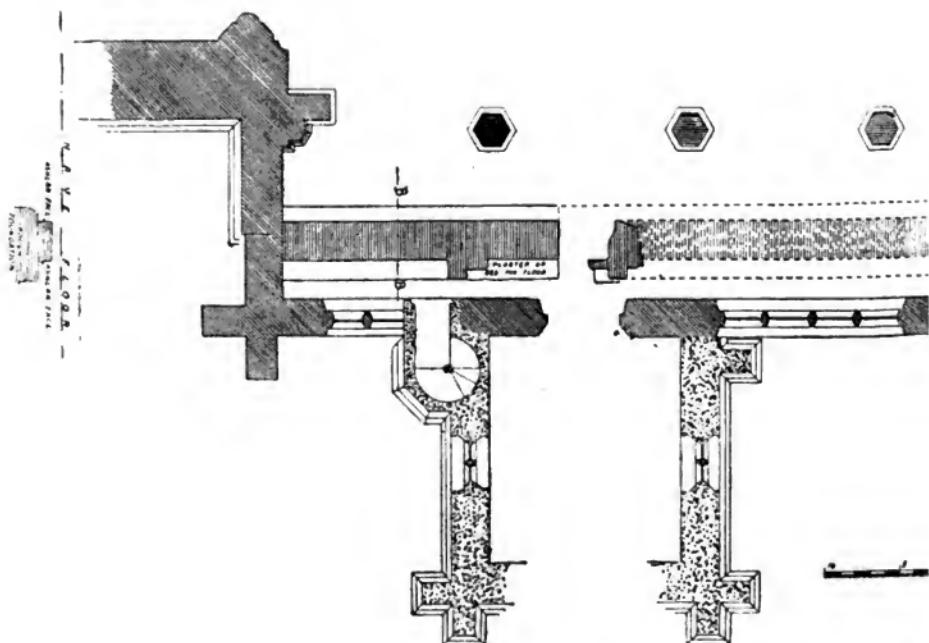
The late “restoration”, under Sir A. Blomfield’s direction, was placed in the careful hands of Mr. John Thompson, of Peterborough, for execution, to whom my thanks are due both for the use of the plan and drawings prepared for him by his clerk (the late Mr. Robert Garwood), and also for permission to place them before the members of our Association. Not fortunate enough myself to see these remains when open, and therefore judging only from these drawings, the following suggestions relative to their order of succession must be taken merely as probable approximations.

The remains presented in these are, first, walls of a central crossing (or tower ?) and transepts of late Saxon date, the openings into the last having been increased in width in Norman times. A nave, without aisles, of like date, in later times elongated westwards, receiving aisles, *gabled* (with the then usual six-sided pillars used in such cases; not an uncommon arrangement hereabout); two angles of each pillar pointing east and west, so that the off-side formed support for the great beam beneath each dividing or cross-gutter. (Of which arrangement, though the roof is now altered, yet gables and gutter exist, and like pillars may still be studied at St. Chad’s Church, Lichfield.) These aisles were again replaced by wider ones, undergoing in their turn the

North Aisle.



SECTION A A

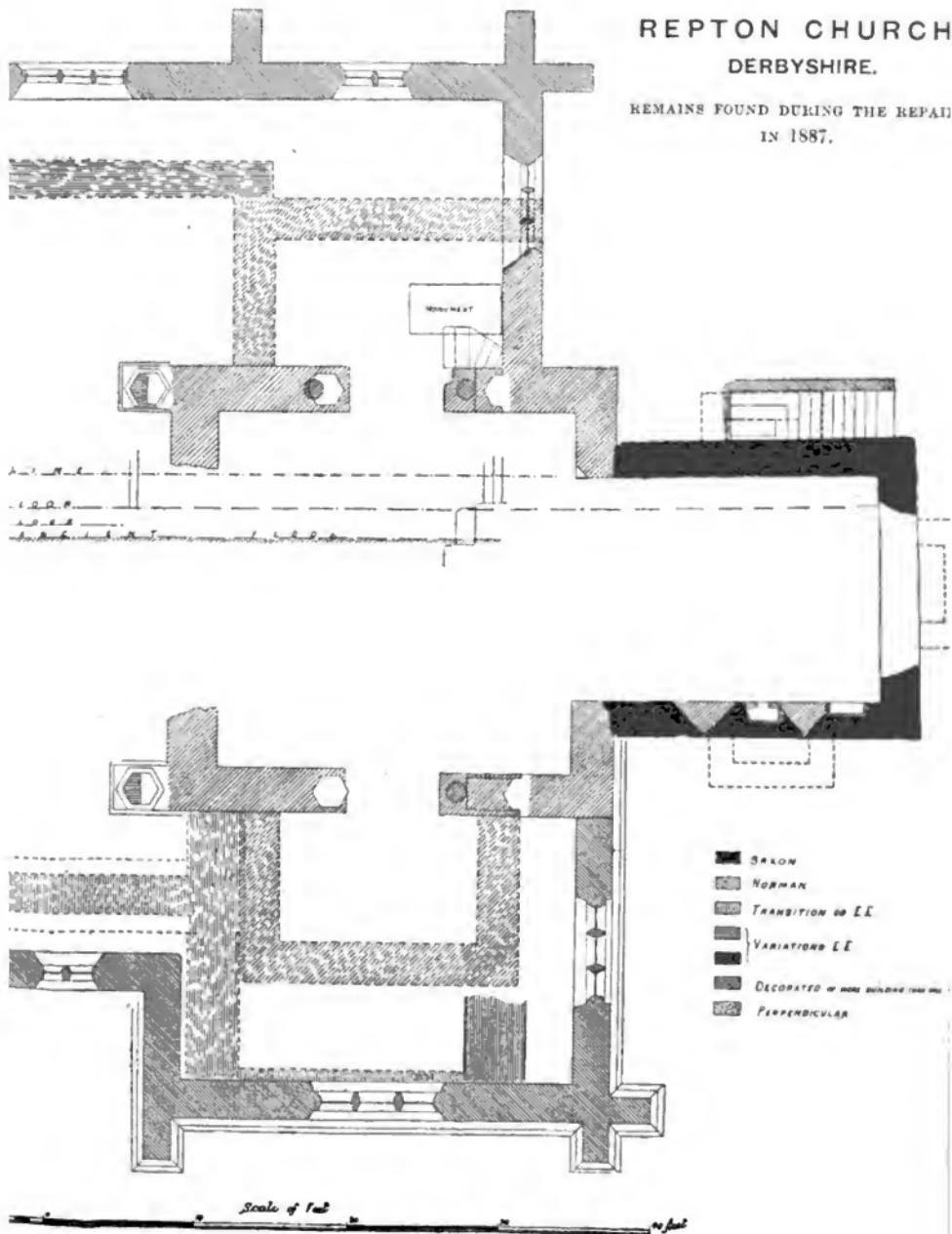


Porch.

S

REPTON CHURCH
DERBYSHIRE.

REMAINS FOUND DURING THE REPAIR
IN 1887.



Copy taken from Mr. R. Garwood's plan, by J. T. Irvine.

The tints only are mine.—J.T.I.

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changes here now seen. Last of all followed the west tower and present roofs. An order which seems to arrange itself into—

1st. A wooden church, whose chancel, in the shape of an upper and lower church, with three chapels, was rebuilt in stone.

2nd. The nave, of wood, in late Saxon times also rebuilt in stone, receiving a crossing with transepts.

3rd. The openings into transepts, widened in Norman times, parts of such altered respond-pillars remaining.

4th. Part of the east wall, of (late) Saxon, with transept, still exists, while the foundations of much of that to the south can be seen, as also that of the crossing.

5th. Remains of the foundation of the *east wall* of an enlargement of this south transept, most likely connected with the remains of the south doorway and wall of that narrow aisle, of Transitional or Early English date, at the inside of west end of present south aisle, seen on plan.

6th. The laying open at the west end of north aisle of nave, of the wall of an older aisle, of similar width to that of the present south one, where the like wall is yet seen, at the west end and south side, forming a foundation to that of the present aisle. The present hexagonal pillars with angles placed east and west, their side-faces receiving the ends of the great timbers supporting the roofs and gutters at right angles to the main structure, precisely was the case at St. Chad's, Lichfield.

Up to the early Decorated period, or it may be somewhat later, the old north transept had remained, rendering the crossing so dark that a pointed window was forced through that narrow slip of wall left between the east wall of the north transept and the north-east angle of the crossing. The north and south walls of this crossing only underwent removal somewhere about the commencement of this century. The stones of one of such Norman arches (called Saxon by the clerk) stood, and may still stand, against the south wall of the tower, in the belfry. Both may have been similar, and the lower fragments of the pillars were found still in place, as shown on the drawing.

The remains of the east wall of the early south transept came to light; and it is here interesting to see and note that the more recent piece in continuation is limited to

just so much only as fills in the additional space up to the site of the lengthened transept-gable (which still is the wall of the chapel). Founders, or rebuilders of aisles, mostly with the object of an obituary service for themselves at its altar, often made this specially marked by a sort of transeptal arrangement of the east bay. I am, therefore, led to connect the first change, and its foundation, here, with the fragment of the door and wall to the west, in this aisle, rather than with later works.

The north transept probably underwent destruction during the later widening of the nave-aisles; work which has left the fragment found in the north aisle, and of that erection whose remains serve for foundations to the present south one. These again underwent change into the work of the aisles as now seen.

That the nave of Saxon times extended considerably west is clear from the remains seen of that floor, whose level corresponded with the top steps descending to the lower chancel, which in Norman times was changed into a crypt by the insertion of pillars and vaults.¹ The upper floors found were of course connected with later changes. The bases also of the two western pillars of each arcade differing in section and date from those eastward of them.

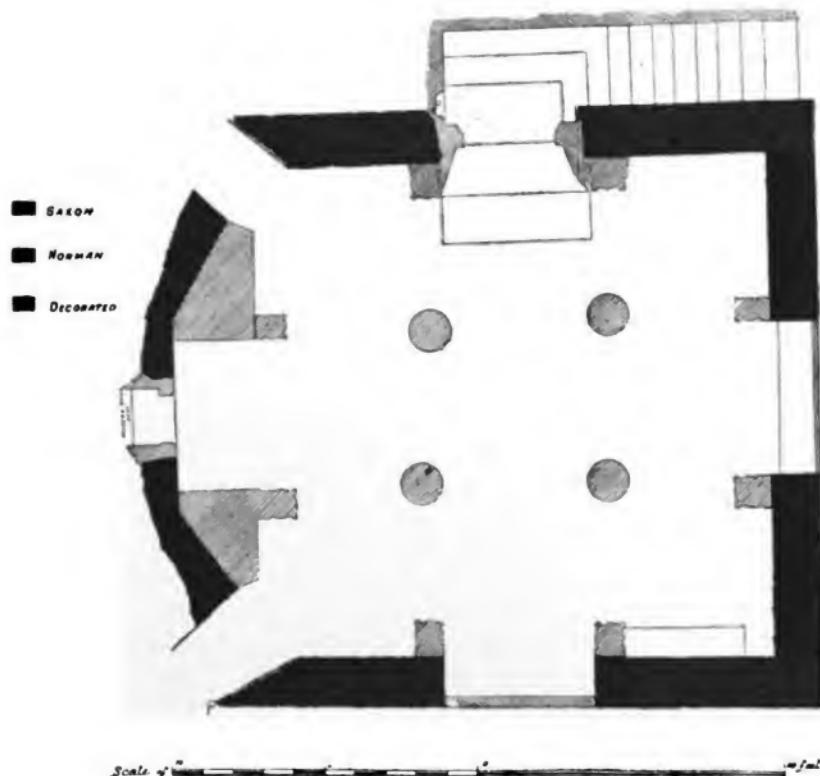
The singular side-chapels (*underground*) once existing on the north, east, and south sides of this under-church, are found also to have been present at Wing and Brixworth churches, though in all three cases more or less destroyed; but here fairly marked by the narrow slips left of their entries (as also it was on the north-east quarter of Brixworth, prior to this late "restoration", and at Wing) by the openings which led into them. So generally close is this arrangement in the three as to almost suggest the same master-mason employed on all).

I may here again thank Mr. Thompson for the use of his plan and drawings, and the service he has done to archæology in preserving some record of these finds, so interesting in connection with Repton Church and its Saxon remains.

¹ A flat wooden floor divided the upper and lower chancels. The window-slits in the south wall, lighting the lower choir, are still seen, though now built up.

REPTON CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.

PLAN OF CRYPT.



J. T. Irvine, delt.

NOTES ON A ROMAN HIPPO-SANDAL.

BY STEWART F. WELLS, ESQ.

(Read 16th May 1891.)

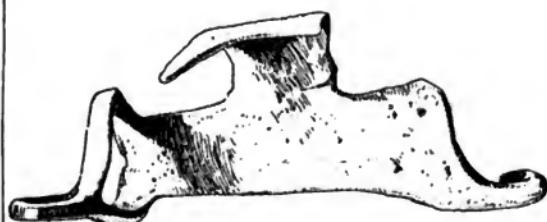
THE Roman object here figured was found in Great Swan Alley, Moorgate Street, last March, about 17 ft. below the surface, and is a shoe for a beast of burden. The inside length is $5\frac{3}{4}$ in.; the width between side-wings or clips, 4 in.; this being the broadest part, both before and behind being narrower; length of front hook, 6 in.; the entire length from loop to hook, 9 in. The ground-surface is furrowed or grooved, evidently to prevent the animal from slipping. The grooves are rather uncommon. They do not occur on a single specimen in the Museum at the Guildhall. I have opened up two of these, and you will observe they are very deep for the thickness of the iron. The small hook was placed behind, and the long iron part with loop in front; not *vice versa*, as I stated last time. A strap was placed through the loop and hook, and fastened round the fetlock and shank of the horse, and the wings pinched in to hold it in its position. I fitted this one to a cow. It fitted fairly well; but I did not test how the animal could walk, for fear she might damage the shoe.

What these objects were used for seems a disputed point with some antiquaries. Besides horse-shoes, some call them temporary shoes for horses with tender feet, lampstands or lampholders, stirrups, skids for wheels, etc. An antiquary very conversant with these matters suggested to me that we were looking at the thing upside down; but he could throw no light on the subject in that position, and I have not been able to find any one who could make any suggestion as to the purpose for which it could have been so applied. Captain Fleming, in his work on Horse-shoes and Horse-shoeing, illustrates a large variety of these objects, but says, "I cannot believe that these hippo-sandals were ever made for such a purpose: extremely few horses, if any, could travel on the roads

ascending or descending steep places, nor yet move with any speed." In the first place, Captain Fleming seems to forget that the large-hoofed horses were not introduced into England till the time of Henry III; and further, that the hoofs of the barbarians' horses were very small; and secondly, these shoes, it is certain, were not intended for fast-going horses, but for beasts of burden, mules, or oxen, or, I might suggest, for oxen ploughing. Then, instead of hippo-sandal, they should be called *mulo-* or *bu-*sandals.

In Holland, at the present day, they bind long, flat, iron shoes to the hoofs of their horses. Mr. Rich, in his *Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities*, says "that neither the Greeks nor Romans were in the habit of nailing pieces of iron to the hoofs of their horses" (?). By the kindness of Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., I was able to inspect the collection of ancient horse-shoes at the British Museum, labelled by Mr. C. Roach Smith. On the under part of one is fixed a piece of iron of a similar pattern worn by the horses of to-day. This specially impressed Mr. Birch, who before he saw this was not inclined to accept the statement.

One point which strikes me in favour of the horse-shoe is the hardness of the earth attached to the under-surface of the shoe. On the one before us it is particularly hard, and on those at the British Museum seemed equally so. This would not arise by simply lying in the ground for a number of years, but through constant pressure on the earth, such as by the tread of a horse. Therefore this does away with the theory of stirrups, lamp-holders, or other domestic arrangements that have been brought forward. The only other theory is that of a skid for wheels, which of course would collect the road-grit; but this would be a mere toy for such a purpose, and much too small to receive the wheel of a Roman chariot or waggon. Mr. H. Syer Cuming tells me most emphatically that they are hippo-sandals. In the *Brit. Arch. Journal* (vol. xxxii, p. 107) one of these objects is figured, which was exhibited by the late Mr. Bailey, and is now in the Museum at Guildhall, together with five other examples found in London. The British Museum has three, which were originally in the collection of Mr. C. Roach Smith.



The back-hook, with a small portion of the sole, was found in London Wall in 1890, and is now in my collection. In the *Arch. Journal* (xi, p. 416) one is figured as a lamp-stand,—length, 9 in. ; breadth, 4½ in. Portions of these shoes have been found at Silchester (see *Archæologia*, lii, p. 11).

Those who are against the theory of shoes say that we should find sculpture or pictures with the horses wearing these shoes, and they call them skids. Why do we not find the skids represented ? Mr. Syer Cuming tells me they were only locally used, according to the condition of the roads. They have been found in England, Germany, France, and Switzerland; but I find no mention of their having been met with in Italy. This would account for their not being represented by the Roman artists. One rather conclusive piece of evidence, which has been so often quoted, is on the authority of M. Troyon, who asserts that he found shoes of a similar pattern on the skeleton of a horse or mule at La Grange in Switzerland. Now if we can rely on the testimony of this antiquary,—and I see no reason why we should not accept his statement,—then the *raison d'être* of these objects is made clear.

In a subsequent discussion on this object, Mr. Barrett read the following notes :—

HIPPO-SANDALS.

BY C. R. B. BARRETT, ESQ.

(Read 6th June 1894.)

THE horse-shoe, or, as it seems sometimes to be called, "hippo-sandal", exhibited at the last meeting by Mr. Wells, furnished me with a subject for considerable cogitation. In my spare time I endeavoured to ascertain what opinions had been formed for and against the correctness of this designation, and of this use for the implement. That I have been able to entirely clear up the doubts which arose when inspecting the exhibit, I cannot claim; but I think that those doubts were reasonable, and I see no reason to change my opinion.

These implements have been found in London (Broad Street), London Wall, Moorfields; and one, a specimen highly decorated *on its lower side*, has been found in the river Blackwater, at Coggeshall, Essex. Springhead, in Kent, furnished two, and the Thames has given us several. But it is abroad that the majority of the specimens have been found. The types of all are mainly the same, differing only in minor details. Now as to the *pros* and *cons*.

M. de Troyon is stated, on the authority of the Abbé Cochet, to have seen four of these implements attached to the skeleton of either a horse or a mule; but, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the skeleton does not exist, though the statement and, I think, these particular alleged hippo-sandals have survived. A certain M. de Widrange, of Bar le Duc, describes one which he was informed had been found attached to a skeleton-leg; but of this find there seems to be no further corroboration.

The suggestion of some authorities is that these sandals were used for temporary purposes, for the feet of horses, mules, or oxen, either in case of disease, or in journeys where the roads were particularly bad. Let us consider this idea. The writer of the notice which I quote

says, "supposing" this to be the fact, these horse-shoes, hippo-sandals, or clogs, were probably lined with leather or wool, and bound round the hoofs and legs with straps. Against this we have the testimony of Mr. Fleming, who tried such hippo-sandals on many horses. Even without padding he could not find a horse with a small enough hoof to wear one. What, therefore, becomes of the padding theory? Mr. Fleming adds, "Could they even be adjusted to the hoof, they would inevitably throw down the horse did he attempt to walk or trot in them." The Coggeshall example is beautifully decorated on its under surface with incised lines, beadings, and circles,—an unlikely thing for a so-called hippo-sandal which was intended to be used on very bad or rough roads.

It has been urged that there is a difference between hippo-sandals for the fore-hoofs and for the hind-hoofs; that in the case of the sandal worn on the fore-hoofs, the bow at the back is more bent away, and that the bow of the hind sandals is more upright. The reason assigned is that by this difference the horse could not overreach itself. Now, even with the ordinary shoe of modern times many horses have a tendency to knock themselves, and to damage their fetlocks. How much more would they run this risk with an enlarged external shoe or sandal, furnished moreover with side-clamps, assuming that they could wear the examples known? On the unnatural position into which the hoof would have been placed, on the small-sized hoof required, and on the danger to the back of the leg from the bow, I made a few remarks at the last meeting.

The suggestion of oxen needs a few words of consideration. The cloven hoof of an ox is very pointed, far more pointed than that of a horse. Is it any way consonant with reason that such an implement as the supposed hippo-sandal (peculiarly *blunt*, and rounded in front, and curved upwards in front), would be used for the cloven hoof of an ox, the which it could only splay outwards and upwards, causing the poor animal infinite torture?

Lastly, on this subject sculpture and painting are totally lacking in examples; and when we remember that through the sculptures and specimens of pictorial art in ancient days, nearly all our absolute knowledge of the

implements of the past is derived; when we remember that the horses of antiquity have been sculptured by thousands, and that these works of art yet remain to us, when no example of these hippo-sandals can be produced, not even one basso-relievo, statue, terra-cotta, or painted vase; we have, I affirm, the strongest possible right to consider that as yet the use of these strange implements remains still an unknown quantity. If to this reasonable doubt we add the still more reasonable objections on the score of size, danger, and even utility (and here remember experiment supports us), we have a further reason for entirely questioning the solution of this antiquarian puzzle which has been in the main hitherto accepted. To ask men to believe that heavy lumps of iron, plainly decorated on the *under* surface in many cases, and elaborately in one known example, could be intended by the ancients, who knew what was what, to assist their draught cattle over boggy places, river-fords, and exceptionally rough roads, is in itself supremely ridiculous. And when we consider that *even on a smooth road* an animal, if it could stand in these hippo-sandals, could neither walk, trot, nor gallop, the absurdity of the bare suggestion becomes even more apparent.

THE STORY OF THE QUIT-RENT AT ANDOVER.

BY THE REV. R. H. CLUTTERBUCK, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read 4th Aug. 1893.)

ANDOVER, like many other places and people in Her Majesty's dominions, does not let the whole world know all its good qualities at once. It has not figured among the "historic towns". But I claim for Andover, that if it be not, in this technical sense, an "historic town", such as to have its story written for it, nevertheless it is a town with a story, which it tells itself. I should like to help that story-telling, as far as time will allow (since it has not the advantage of the Dean of Winchester's inimitable pen to set it down), to be as much as possible in its own words.

The history of Andover was, until very recently, "bound in boards". A very large chest, with three keys, contained a mass of documents which might well make Dominie Sampson exclaim "*Prodigious*". Some of these documents, like the charters, were well known; some, like the books, could be easily described. But besides these there was a vast assembly of papers and parchments in the same elementary condition as the world was in at the beginning of its history. It was from that mass, nameless and void of arrangement, that I selected the records that I ask your attention to to-night. It is simply a series of receipts ranging from 1315 to 1593; not complete, indeed (perhaps that could hardly be expected), but going over enough ground to raise a hope that more may be discovered. Permit me to read translations of two of them; the earlier from the Latin, the second from the French:—

"Margaret, by the Grace of God Queen of England, to all to whom these present letters shall come, Greeting. Know ye that the men of the Town of Andover, who hold the same town at fee-farm by a hundred and four pounds a year, have rendered account of the same farm by John Evans, Bailiff of the said town, from the

morrow of St. Michael in the fifth year of the reign of our well-beloved son, the Lord King Edward, the son of King Edward, to the morrow of St. Michael in the seventh year of the same Lord King (that is to say, the whole fifth and sixth years), before our beloved clerks, Henry de Lutegarshale and William de Eldfield, at the audit of the account of the issues of our lands, deputed by us. So that the same men are quit of the same farm for the whole term aforesaid. In witness whereof we have appended our seals to these presents.

"Given at Westminster the fourteenth day of July in the ninth year of the reign of our well-beloved son the Lord King aforesaid."

So that the date is 1314, and the royal lady to whom Andover made payment was Margaret of France, widow of Edward I. The other document runs thus:—

"Be it a thing known to all, that we, Margaret Countess of Kent, have received from our well-beloved the bailiffs and good men of the town of Andover, fifty-two pounds sterling from the farm of the said town, for the term of St. Michael last past before the date of these presents. As to which fifty and two pounds sterling we acknowledge that we are prepaid, and that the aforesaid bailiffs and good men of the said town are quit. In witness whereof we have set our seal to these our letters of quittance.

"Given at our Manor of Woking the 20th day October in the eleventh year of the reign of Edward III" (1337).

As we have not the rest of the Andover documents here I must ask leave to explain that the good town can show the right it had to the farm thus spoken of, by producing the charter it possesses of the 15th John. And if you looked at Andover as displayed on the map (especially if you take notice of the contour-lines), I think you would be disposed to agree with me, that the introduction to its historical story is to be found in its geographical features; and that the traces of that long-ago time are clear when, in A.D. 930, the Council of Greatanlea ordained "that no man buy any property out of port over xx pence, but let him buy there within, on the witness of the portreeve or other unlying man, or further, on the witness of the reeves at the folkmote."

And I should like to induce you to make a mental footnote about a remarkable feature which may be a part of the story. The map shows you a small parish consisting of three islands, quite in the middle of the large area

of Andover. It is an ancient rectory, up to a year or two ago as completely independent of Andover as when its description was written in the *Domesday Survey*. It is the parish of Knights Enham, the affix of which we spell KNIGHTS ; but which I fancy would let us into more history if we admitted the spelling *Cnihten, Cnihtenham*. Whether we are justified in tracing its name back to the headquarters of the Ceapmans' Gild I will not express an opinion. It is certain that in London, Winchester, and Canterbury, were Cnihten Gilds ; and there is a tendency about all early references to Andover that makes it almost impossible to look to post-Conquest time for its origin ; and the Ham of the Cnihten, under the very stockade of the Port, may be a link more easy to imagine than to prove.

We have already mentioned that the *town* tells its story of its right to the fee-farm ; but it requires a little friendly help from one of its neighbours to let us in to all that is known, for Andover has no copy of its earliest charter.

Although the occasional residence of Eadgar, Ethelred II, and perhaps other Saxon kings, Andover was not a royal city, like Winchester, yet it had no small importance as a centre of industrial enterprise, and a market into which the produce of the district was brought, and from which it was distributed. A very large proportion of the business was in wool, mostly spun, or spun and woven. I am more and more sure that the clothing-trade, in some of its branches, was the occupation of the whole population of these parts, carried on, of course, along with agriculture ; and this amount of business involved a considerable goods traffic. It was naturally, then, a matter of great importance to Andover, as it was to other towns, to be free of toll, passage, and custom ; and this privilege Henry II gave to Andover in a charter which is not dated, but which Southampton has engrossed in her important memorandum-book called "The Black Book."

And thus, with this friendly hint from a neighbour, Andover opens her long story,—a story so long and full that I may hardly venture now to tell you the headings of its chapters. However far it may go *beyond*, in unwrit-

ten history, we have the records of the Gild Merchant, thus fully constituted, in its books and rolls from 1255 till its ending in 1599 ; the *Maneloquium*, or Council, with its election of freemen and officers, its courts, mingling the records of town and gild inseparably, with here and there the quaintest possible orders about all sorts of things, such as pigs getting into the street, and other unmannered beings using disrespectful language of the approved men.

I fear the autobiography of Andover has many points of similarity with human weaknesses elsewhere. The growing impatience of the discipline of the Gild, the growth of the municipal idea as the Gild paled and faded, the final rejection of control in trade, are particulars time will not allow me to dwell upon. But you will have noticed that though I am unable to say anything about the beginning of the Gild, I can fix its end with certainty. That end came in 1599. Andover tells this part of her story in the new charter the Queen granted that year, and as she does so she cannot quite hide the jealousies and bitings of the thumb that brought it about ; but from that date his Worship the Bailiff of Andover took the place of the two bailiffs, and the trade was governed by three Companies, the Drapers, the Leathersellers, and the Haberdashers, under one of which every tradesman had to rank himself, to take up his freedom, and pay his fee. If it will not add too much to your weariness, I should like to show you what seems to me the first mutterings of the storm which ended in the control of trade dying out altogether.

Things were going merrily in the Haberdashers' Company in 1716, when, on the 16th January, at a meeting of that Society,—

" It is ordered that the Chamberlains of this Company doe dispose, out of the stock of this Company, the sum of eighteen pence apiece to every member of this Society, to be expended by them to-morrow, being a day of thanksgiving appointed by the Government for suppressing the Rebellion in this Kingdom."

But in the following March the spirit of rebellion seems to have shown itself in the Company :—

" At this meeting alsoe Mr. John flower, grocer, appears to be

made free of this Company, and having a very reasonable fine putt upon him, vизt., twenty shillings and half a dozen leathern fire-bucketts, which he refused to accept of, It is this day ordered by the whole Company y^t he bee p'sented att the charge of the Society for keeping open his shopp without being a freeman of this Town and Society of Haberdashers, and for his contempt of this Company."

There is a worthy Magistrate of the Borough of Andover who is, I believe, still free of this Company ; but they practically came to an end about 1810.

The next chapter in the story of Andover is headed with a charter of King John and the Great Seal of England. The charter is dated 1201. The town has no copy of it. It is to this effect :—

"John, by the Grace of God, &c. Know ye that we have granted, and by this our present writing have confirmed, to our burgesses of Andover, the town of Andover, at farm with its appurtenances, by the ancient farm, and dues, without renewal ; so that they shall accustom to pay with the renewal, and besides of increment, fifteen pounds, to hold and to have by the aforesaid farm as long as they shall well and faithfully serve us and pay their farm well by paying their farm by their hand at our two Exchequers ; to wit, one moiety at the Feast of St. Michael, and the other moiety at Easter. And be it known that the increment is so much, and so much is the farm. Witness, Symon of Rattleshull, at Dorchester, 18th day of April."

I ask your attention to the allusion to the already incorporated town, and the description of the fee-farm as already ancient in 1201. Another charter of King John, of which the town is justly proud, is dated in his fifteenth year :—

"John, by the Grace of God, &c., to all, &c. Know ye that we have granted, and by this our Charter have confirmed, to our men of Andover, our manor of Andover, with the foreign hundred, and other its appurtenances, to have and to hold of us and our heirs, to them and their heirs, at fee-farm, paying thence yearly to our Exchequer, at Easter, by their hand, four score pounds of white money, and forty pounds by tale ; and to the Exchequer at Michaelmas, forty pounds of white money, and ten pounds by tale. Wherefore we will and firmly command that our aforesaid men of Andover, with the hundred aforesaid and all its appurtenances, well, &c., as aforesaid. Witness, W. Earl of Salisbury, S. Earl of Winchester, and others.

"Given by the hand of P. Bishop of Winchester, at Wallingford 3d day of October anno 15."

The ancient fee-farm, then, dating back no one can say how far, was clearly £80 a year white money ; but the increment varies. An *Inspeccimus* of 14 Richard II, reciting the two charters of Henry III, and that of 29 Edward III, states the ancient farm to be £80 white money, and £20 by tale.

Subject, then, to this reserved rent, the manor of Andover and the hundred and foreign hundred became the property of the incorporate town of Andover, being vested in the bailiffs and commonalty, to have and to hold all its rights, privileges, and profits. These consisted of all the manorial rights of the great *parish* of Andover, 9,164 A., and the right of holding view of frankpledge over all the parishes in the Valley of the Anton, except Penton Mewsey and perhaps Monxton. The rolls of the hundred court and the court-leet remain in large numbers ; and happily the conservative instinct moved the Town Clerks for a long period (even after the court-rolls were engrossed) to toss into the muniment-chest the rough reports and lists of resiants brought in by the tithing men, so that for a number of years of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we can find the names of the people of the tithings and villages.

For those who are interested in the history of the Valley of the Anton and its people, this fact, that we have the records of the local courts of justice, as well as the records of the town, is of immense importance.

We shall now, I think, be prepared to understand the receipts I spoke of. The earliest one, dated 14 July 1314, made out by Henry de Ludgashall, as wardrobe to Margaret, daughter of Philip III of France, second Queen of Edward I (who was married 8 September 1299, and died 14 Feb. 1317), is one that I read to you. The quittance is from 30 Sept. 1311 to 30 Sept. 1313, at the rate of £104 a year. The seal attached is the private seal of the Queen.

The next we have is at the winding-up of her affairs :

"Be it known to all men that I, William de Muskham, clerk, attorney to the executors of the will of the Lady Margaret, formerly Queen of England, for money due to the said Lady Queen, from whatever source to be received, and for quittance given, as it is contained in the rolls of the remembrance of the Exchequer, of

S. Hillary term, in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Edward, the son of King Edward, have received of the men of the town of Andover, paid to me by the hands of Nicholas de Hole, Ten pounds, eleven shillings, and ten pence, of arrears of fee farm of the said town, of the tenth year of the reign of the aforesaid King. I have also received of them, by the hands of the aforesaid Nicholas, two Exchequer tallies of the aforesaid Queen, made against Sir Nicholas de Eglesfelde, completing four quarter rods, 13 pounds, eight shillings, and two pence, of the farm of the aforesaid town, for the year above said, and so the said men are quit of the fee farm of the said town for the tenth year aforesaid. Concerning which ten pounds, eleven shillings, and ten pence, and also concerning the aforesaid tallies, I hold the said men to be quit and indemnified by these presents. Sealed with my seal.

"Given at Westminster the third day of October, the fourteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid King" (1320).

The two following documents, which come next in the series, have a peculiar interest. We have noticed how the account was rendered at the winding up of Queen Margaret's affairs. Now we have a demand on the Andover people to pay the next fee-farm to her son, Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent. He got his right to it, not by inheritance from his mother, but by grant from his half brother, Edward II. He had to render for it the service of two knights' fees, and pay the King 3s. 4d. a year in money. The deed suggests that the Duke wanted his money :—

"Edmond, son to the noble King of England, Earl of Kent, to the Bailiffs and approved men of the town of Andover, greeting. We charge and demand you that the fifty two pounds sterling which you owe to us, of the farm of the said town, for the term of Saint Michael next to come, ye do quickly cause twenty pounds to come to London to our wardrobe, and let them be there at the latest by the morrow of St. Michael, without delay, and that you make delivery of the same due to our dear valet, Raymond Sigen, receiving of him letters of quittance sealed with the seal of our dear clerk, Syr William de Hoo, our Wardrober, by which and by these presents we will that ye have full allowance."

"Given at Arundell the 17th day of September in the second year."

His gentle reminder seems to have been attended to, for we have this receipt next on the series :—

"Be it known unto all men by these presents, that I, William de Hoo, Wardrober to Edmund, son of the illustrious King of Eng-

land, Earl of Kent, acknowledge to have received of the Bailiffs of the Town of Andover fifty two pounds and six pence, and that the aforesaid Bailiffs are quit towards the Lord Earl aforesaid by these presents. In witness of which I have set my seal to these presents.

"Given at London the 12th day of October, the second year after the Conquest."

Part of the seal remains; it has, within a much enriched quatrefoil, a lion's face with lolling tongue.

The pathetic coincidence is that it is dated the last year of Edmund's short life, 1328. "Winchester", says that most delightful of historians, its present Dean, "always seems to have loved its worst kings best, and remained faithful to Edward II. The nobles at Winchester planned the favourite's overthrow, and their leader, Edmund Earl of Kent, was seized, attainted by a Parliament in the Castle at Winchester, and condemned to die. So much was he beloved that no one could be found to behead him, and for a long day he stood waiting before the Castle gate, until at last came an accursed ribald from the Marshalsea, who, to save his own wretched life, put him to death."

The next receipt we have is dated May 12, 1332. It is from Margaret Countess of Kent, the widow of the unhappy young nobleman just mentioned. The sum is still the same, £104 a year. This lady was the daughter of John, and sister and heiress of Thomas Lord Wake; and the exquisitely lovely seal attached bears on a heater-shaped shield, within a bordure, three lions passant gardant, for Edmund Earl of Kent, impaling two bars, in chief three torteaux, for Wake. The sum does not vary during the Countess's time. The last quittance we have of hers is 1348.

This Countess's two sons died without issue, and it may possibly be that this fee-farm went to their sister Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, wife of Edward the Black Prince; but at any rate, so far as Andover is concerned, the thread of the story is broken here; and when we next find a receipt, it is for a different sum, one payment being £12 a year, the other £8 : 10 : 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the two sums are in the hands of different owners.

I do not know whether it would be safe to hazard a query whether the sums we deal with in future are the

knights' fees and money-payment. We can, however, gather that the £8 : 10 : 10½ *kept* in the hands of the Queen. It formed part of the jointure of Joan of Navarre, second wife of Henry IV, who died 9 July 1437.

The annuity of £12 first appears in the documents we have in 1482, in the name of Edward IV; and our next is of the same annuity of £12 in the name of Henry VIII (1515), while the Queen, Catherine of Arragon, is having the other payment of £8 : 10 : 10½. There is proof that the King derived his from his grandmother, Margaret Countess of Richmond, and it is in the *Comptos* of the Richmond lands.

"This present bill, made the v day of December, the viij yere of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lorde King Henry the viij, witnesseth that I, James Morice, one of the Kings Receyuors generall of all those his Londs and possessions which were of late my lady his grandame, late Countess of Richmond and Derby, have received of William Drake and Vincent Jumper, Bayliffs of the town of Andover, *vj/i.* sterlinc for the fee-farm of the same, due unto our said Sou'aigne Lord at the feaste of Saynt Mychell the archangell last past before the date hereof; of the which *vj/i.* I knowledge me to be fully contented and paid, and thereof acqyute and discharge the said Bailliffs in this behalff by these presents. Sealed with my seale and with my hand this day and yere aboue said.

"By me, James Morice."

I am tempted to notice that by this time the quittances have lost their charm. The diction is now severely legal, the handwriting infinitely less attractive than the beautiful calligraphy of the time of the Edwards, and I had almost said the romance had fled, and left only the prosaic figures; but the form of the next possessor, with her white hair dabbled with blood, seems to rise before us as we handle the quittance from Margaret Countess of Salisbury. She receives the £12, and the last quittance from her is in 1530, twelve years before her execution.

Meanwhile, in 1525, Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland,¹ gives quittance for £6 for one whole year's fee; Lady Elizabeth Neville for £11 3s. for the year ended Michael-

¹ Thomas Manners, thirteenth Lord Ros, K.G., created Earl of Rutland, 18 June 1525, was succeeded by his son Henry, second Earl. He married Lady Margaret Nevill, daughter of Ralph, fourth Earl of Westmoreland.

mas 1528 ; while the Queen in 1529 gives quittance for only £1 : 10 : 11. But on 22 May 1532, the year before the marriage was declared null, it is Richard Justice who gives the receipt for £8 : 10 : 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, then described as Queen's rent ; while on 1 March 1533, little more than a month after the private marriage with Anne Boleyn, it is the same sum in the name of the Queen again.

In 1593 some other change has taken place, and the Marquis of Winchester is owner of the fee-farm of £28 : 1 : 5. At this date William, third Marquis, held the title. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Robert, second Lord Willoughby de Broke.

At the present moment the town of Andover pays quit-rent of £18, £22, and £9, to Lord Scarsdale, Lord Bolton, and Mr. Duncan respectively. I cannot see my way to trace the amounts to the old charge.

The series of receipts, as far as they have been found, concludes with the printed forms filled, in 1593, with the particulars by the deputy-auditor,—a sort of testimony to the lasting bond of history, which holds together such differing times, such varying circumstances, but gives its own matchless interest to everything brought in contact with it.

I have always thought, as I have been looking over the town documents, that Andover has contrived with singular ingenuity to avoid the romance of history by sedulously going with the times, and siding with the powers that be ; but I submit that so prosaic a matter as the receipts for rent, paid by a quiet-going country place with no claim even to be considered an "historic town", shows that no spot in the kingdom can help feeling that noble inheritance of ours, the historic influence of Old England.

SOME

NOTES ON THE PLAGUE IN WINCHESTER.

BY W. H. JACOB.

(Read during the Winchester Congress, 3rd August 1893.)

AMONGST many objects of interest in Winchester, the Obelisk without Westgate is noteworthy. It recalls the plague and its ravages here and in the Soke, the foundation and still vigorous existence of the Society of Natives, its champion, and good work in apprenticing children; its primary purpose having been to aid those who lost their parents in the pestilence, 1665-6. It is kept up by the Natives' and Aliens' Societies, and possesses a twofold interest, recalling a processional cross of the fifteenth century,¹ the remains of which are in its base; whilst the "Broad Stone", on which, in a pan of vinegar or water, coin was placed in exchange for provisions (to escape contagion), is yet to be seen in the foundations. In 1665-6 the locality was bounded, south, by the dilapidated walls and towers of the Castle of Norman, Plantagenet, and later kings, as left after the "slighting" process of the Commonwealth; north, by a fine range of wall connecting Westgate and Hermit's Tower; west was the deep fosse of the Castle, and open country traversed by the Roman Road. The picturesque details and terrors of that Market must be imagined. The Gate remains, the Castle towers are gone, and the grand wall, "A sure defence 'gainst Winton's foes",² has yielded to destruction and tenements. The Natives' books style the spot the "Old Market Cross without Westgate."

The plague, which visited England twelve times in seven centuries, was the product, not of defective, but of entirely absent sanitation. Common decency was outraged, and filth abounded; London, according to writers in 1665, rivalling the filthiness of any Oriental city. So

¹ Harl. MSS., Brit. Mus., "A Tarrage of the City." (See Woodward's *Hampshire*, vol. i, note, p. 262.)

² *Hampshire Chronicle*. Time of destruction, 1825.

did Winchester, her ancient rival. This is proved by presents and other records of Tudor and Stuart times preserved to us. These are almost incredible, and amusing. A few examples must suffice :—

" 10 April 1563.—Ffor nusance. Item that noe p'son from henceforthe laye anie ded dogge, horse, or anie other carreyne, in any strete or hyewaie of the cittie, neither shall laye anie such ded carron in anie other place, excepte he burie y^e same sufficientlie forthwith, upo' payne of vis. viiid. ffor everie tyme he may be duelye convict thereof. Halfe to goe to the Chamber of the cittie, halfe to the fynder."

The finding could hardly have been difficult. In 1577 there is another nuisance legislated on :—

"All p'sons above the age of twelve are forbidden to make the stretes a place of easement. If taken in the fact, to forfeit viid., or in default to suffer such punishment as in the discretion of the Mayor was proper."

Pigsties, manure-heaps, and other nuisances abounded, hogs wandered in the streets, and the river suffered from manifold abominations, as the following extract in 1583 proves—

" Entrayyles.—At a com'on convocation of the citizens it is ordayne that from henceforth no bocher shall throwe Intrayles or other vile things in the ryver or elsewhere, to the noyance of their neighbors, but onelie in the place accustomed, called Abbie Bridge, and there p'vided alwaies that such vyle things shalbe cutt into iiiii inches longe att least, upon penaltie of iiis. iiiid."

Doubtless the trout and eels were fine, but our good Dean and Canons' predecessors could hardly have enjoyed their gardens.

Cleansing was left to individuals, and in 1583 each householder had daily to throw down five buckets of water to cleanse the gutter before his premises, under a penalty of 20s. No wonder the dread of the plague prevailed thus early.

The only parochial evidences of the pestilence existing in Winchester are in the almost perfect sets of Registers of SS. Maurice, Mary Kalendar, and Peter Colebrook, kindly entrusted to me by the Rector and Wardens of these united parishes. In 1583 there is no proof of extra mortality, and this part of Winchester included the

greater portion of the population, inclusive of half the High Street and the streets known as Tanner, Wongar, and Shulworth (our Brooks), where resided fullers, cloth-weavers, dyers, glovers, tanners, and workers in metals. The population, save the Soke, was intra-mural, and did not exceed 5,000.

In 1563 the fair held on St. Edward's Day "was suppressed for peryl of the plague", and the Bailiffs received 20*s.* as compensation. In 1564 the dread continued. On April 21, "the supper usually kept the Sunday after the Nativitie of St. John Baptiste shall not be kepte, for avoyding the danger of the plague now raging." There were twenty-two deaths recorded, and fifteen the previous year,—the latter the average; so that the plague did not affect the city much. The cleansing of the water-courses, memorials of the sanitation of St. Ethelwold, the Saxon Bishop, was deferred for the same reason; and the walls were ordered to be repaired and cleansed yearly "of all ivye, wedys and young springalds", at the cost of the Marquis of Winchester.

On July 6, 1593, the plague is again dreaded; but only eleven deaths are registered, the previous year being one of remarkable mortality,—twenty-five deaths, inclusive of Mistress Agnes Newbolt. It is clear, therefore, that the plague did not cause much harm in 1593. The terror of it, however, led to the following ordinance:—

"Noe p'son, of what degree soever, shall receive to his house anie p'son fro' anie foren infected place, upo' paine of imprisonment; anie p'son found in the citie, coming fro' anie infected place, to be expelled; anie p'son whose house is infected with the plague shall kepe his or her dogges within."

The strictest inquiry to be made about "forreyn p'sons coming from anie infected place; p'sons from places not infected only to remain one night". Each of the six gates had its warden on duty, from five in the morning till nine at night, and *vice versa*, "to examine all fotemen and such as bring packes", the commercial traveller of those days. Disregarding this ordinance, "one Christian Wilson, wife of James Wilson of Kingston-on-Thames or Guildford, infected places, came to the citie with her two children, to her mother's house, and she is expelled with

a passport to return to her husband, with the citie charitie of 2 shillings."

Trade was paralysed, for on July 13 this year artificers were forbidden "to receive anie wares from London until Michaelmas next, nor anie wares of carriers, on pain of imprisonment and having their shoppes closed." Collections were made for the poor, and on Sept. 7 the presence of loose characters was a source of danger,—

" All suspiciois p'sons, all rogues and idle p'sons, disorderlie, or carriers awaie of woods and breaking of hedges, stealers of poultre and pigge, late and night watchers, unorderlie goeing out and coming in late, both on foote and horsebacke ; all p'sons from infected places, London, Farnham, Alton, or anie other, be p'sentlie taken by the warden to their Inne to be exam'd by the Innkeeper whether they be right p'sons ; if not, to be expelled. The West and East gates to remain open for horsemen ; all others closed, save the wicketts, and only p'sons with corne, wood, and other provisions, *not* from infected places, to be admitted."

In opposition to the regulations, "Anthonie Burde, an alderman, repayred to London and bought wares. He, on his return, to be imprisoned 14 days in St. John's House, or else to have his shoppe shutt for a month." The alderman's treatment and behaviour, on his arrival from London, are hidden from us. It was

" Further ordered at this dangerous tyme of infection, that proclamation be made at Weyhill and all markett towns concerning the fayre on St. Edward's Daye, that the only p'sons allowed would be vendors of horses, cattell, turners, coopers and joyners' wares, butter, cheese, corne, grayne, smiths, nailemen, bochers and fyshers, p'vidid they come not from infected places."

In 1594, according to Mr. Kirby's interesting *Annals*, the city and vicinity of the College were threatened with the plague, but a strict quarantine kept it in narrow limits. In St. Maurice there were but five deaths registered, and there were none recorded at College, which subscribed 5s. to the poor of Winton, and 5s. to those shut up, because of contagion, in Kingsgate Street. The Registers of the Soke are all more or less incomplete.

On Dec. 21, despite an ordinance forbidding people going to the houses of William Goodall and Thomas Johnson, infected places,—

"One Pearce the bagman's wife repayed to Johnson's, and weaved yarne, to her own danger and the inhabitants. She shalbe com'itted to the caidge, and there remayne till further order be taken, and on the door a writinge expressinge her contempte and disobedience."

Bull-baiting was forbidden, to avoid a concourse of people. A weekly tax supported people in the pest-houses, and perhaps the many heaps of bones found without the walls denote hurried sepulture of those there dying.

Poor Goodall had a weary seclusion. In January 1594 (his father died in August) the Corporation divided on the question of his liberation, and there was an equality of votes,—five for, five against, and he was shut up another fortnight.

The plague did not prevent the civic body amusing themselves by "the players of the Countess of Derbie", who received 6s. 8d. for their histrionic talent. The years 1595 and 1596 were sickly, especially the latter,—twenty-six deaths, gradually lessening down to seven in 1607. In 1601 there is an appointment of scavenger "for the sake of the cleanliness, decency, and sweetness of the ayre of the citie". He was twice a week to carry away all dust, dirt, and filth, to be placed ready for him Wednesdays and Saturdays, and pitch it into Staple Garden, then and for long years after literally an open field and gardens.

The plague of 1603 did not touch Winchester, and health was good till 1609, when there were thirty-two deaths in St. Maurice and its allied parishes, from the plague possibly, for an order of Epiphany Sessions recites that "the Justices of the county are crediblie informed that divers persons inhabiting within fyve miles of the citye have refused to pay money rateably imposed towards the aid of the poor people infected with the plague in the suburbs of the city, and the tything men are ordered to distrayne".

The Registers of the Soke and St. B. Hyde throw no light on the mortality of the suburbs. The years 1611 and 1612 were very sickly,—twenty-one deaths each in St. Maurice. In 1617 there were thirty-five deaths, and the average was largely exceeded down to 1625, showing the near approach of the third great plague,—the "sore

disease", that of 1625, which in Winchester rivalled, apparently, in mortality that of 1665-6.

Mr. Kirby's *Annals* show that there was at College a dread of the plague. The scholars were boarded out at "Silkstede" from Oct. 1625 to May 1626. The election of civic officers was removed from St. John's House to Guildhall, out of thickly populated St. Maurice. The mortality jumped from thirty-five in 1624 to eighty-two in 1625. The Register of Hyde parish, rural and sparsely populated, records but one death. In St. John's, in the Soke, Rev. Mr. Dickens finds the death-rate "normal". August and September were the fatal months; twenty-five funerals in the former, twenty-seven in the latter, ten in October. On one day there were four funerals; on two days, three each; seven days, two each. Two families lost five; two, four; five, three; and eight, two of their members; and again one of the victims was a Newbolt. Whether an exchange and market, like the next plague, were in operation, is unrecorded. A cottage was burnt down by order, because Leonard Andrews died in it of the plague. £76 was raised in the city for the relief of the sufferers, orphans, and others, in the pest-houses.

An early record of emigration appears in the civic Coffer Book, dated Dec. 30, 1625: "3£ emploied for the apparelling of six poor Boys that went to Virginia." Sir Walter Raleigh said: "I shall yet live to see it an English Nation"; and Elizabeth's coinage, in one rare riall, has in Latin the following historic legend: "The great province captured under my auspices."

Raleigh's desire has been accomplished in the United States; and it may be that the descendants of these boys, whose names are unrecorded, live in the old Dominion named after the Virgin Queen.

A poor lad, apprenticed in London, received 3s. 4d.,—a forecast of the "Natives" idea.

With the view of creating work, and aiding the city in her extremity, there was, on March 24, 1625, this order; "30£ paid to Sir Thomas Whitehead, Kt., and Sir Richard Tichborne, Kt., to promote an act for making the river navigable to Southampton." They were the city Members.

The Great Plague of 1665-6 will conclude my paper.

The Quarter Sessions' Books (kindly lent me by Mr. G. A. Webb, the Clerk of the Peace) have interesting entries about it. In 1631 there is a reference to an order of 2 Charles I, assessing inhabitants within five miles of Eastmeon for relief of people infected with the disease in 1625. In October 1636 a woman and child were shut up in a booth at Otterbourne with the plague. In April 1637 a rate was made for the relief of people suffering from it at Bishop's Waltham.

The first notice of it in 1665-6 is dated Sept. 23, when the Court of Admiralty came here, by royal order, from London, to avoid infection. They were all sworn in as freemen, and called to the Bench. Their names are duly enrolled :—

Doctor John Exton	}	Judges
Doctor Leoline Jenkins		
Sir Robert Wiseman	}	Knights and
Sir John Turner		Advocates
Doctor David Budd		
Mr. Samuel Franklin		
Mr. Alexander Cheeke		
Mr. Edward Arnolde		
Mr. Ralph Suckley		
Mr. Everard Exton		
Mr. Samuel Hough		
Mr. Charles Moore		
Mr. William Tyler		

Mayor.—William Taylor, Esq.

The plague made its appearance in Winchester in 1666, having visited Southampton the previous autumn. On the sickness appearing in the Soke, the College¹ (which with the Cathedral gave £10 each to the infected) sent some of the scholars home, and others to Crawley. The buildings, Mr. Kirby informs us, were closed, and Roger Oades, the old servitor (the family is still extant), kept the gates, and the Crawley party duly and daily victualled. There is no proof that any of the scholars died of the disease.

The Registers of St. Maurice are valuable testimony, and also St. Michael's. In the latter the deaths rose from eight to sixteen; and in the former the average, sixteen, increased in 1665 to thirty-eight, twelve of these

¹ Mr. Kirby's *Annals*.

being marked with *o*, denoting death "from the spots", as the plague was called.

In 1666 the disease was most destructive, and the Register of St. Maurice, by its abrupt break in the entries, shows that the authorities were paralysed, and burials unregistered. The County Sessions were held in July at Basingstoke, and there is this order,—

"For y^e relief of y^e poore infected with the plague.—Upon reading of a certificate at this Sessions, under the hands of Lawrence Hyde and Richard Goddard, Esqs., Justices of the Peace, showing that by a certificate of the Mayor and two Justices of the city of Winchester, that the inhabitants were unable to relieve the poorer people infected with the plague in the city, They, the said Lawrence Hyde and Richard Goddard, did, under Statute Js. I, c. 31, tax the inhabitants of the county within five miles of the city (similar certificate as to Petersfield); and the Court being now credibilie informed of the sad and lamentable condition of the poor people, and the contagion still increasing among them, spreading itself into divers parts of the county, doth, for relief of the poor, and keeping them from wandering abroad, and infecting others, tax the whole county in a fourteenth part of what was assessed for the payment of the Royal Aide, to be collected immediately, under the penalty of distraint and imprisonment without bail."

The Register in St. Maurice ceased May 20, a sure proof of the lamentable condition of the city, and the paralysis of parochial record. In April and May there are fourteen deaths spot-marked, three with the word *Plague*; and the last entry (of Mary Richards) has, "She dyed of the plague, and so did several of those above." The remainder of the year is a sad and speaking blank. The burials of the victims were in pits on the Downs, and thus unrecorded. Their graves remain under the grassy mounds on Magdalen Hill, Compton Down, and between St. Catherine's and Twyford Down. Mr. Kirby quotes, in his *Annals*, a payment of 20s. for covering the plague-graves between "Hills".

The College gave generously to the sufferers in the Soke, the Registers of which have perished. The horror of the time, with its nightly cartloads of dead, and the red cross-marked doors, can be imagined. Petersfield, Andover, and Basingstoke suffered alike with Winchester, and from a county rate for relief, Winchester received

£160; Petersfield, £120. The prisoners in the Gaol, crowded together and badly fed, suffered. In October 1666, in the sessional records, there is an entry about their "perishing condition by reason of the continuance of the plague, being represented to the Court, and being deprived of the large allowance from the College and others, the Court ordered a sum of £28 to be paid to them in weekly sums, according to their necessities."

The Chapter Books of the Cathedral, which the Dean kindly placed at my disposal, contain the following interesting entries :—

"8 June 1666.—From and after the Festival of the Holy Trinity, by reason of the great increase of sickness in the city and suburbs, the chanting the Service shalbe discontinued. The Mayor and Aldermen and the principal inhabitants having made choice of the way round Kingsgate to come to our Church, for their security during infection, and having desired us by Mr. Bie, their Town Clerk, to take special care to shut up our Close, and keep out infected persons; and in regard that persons begin to grow very unruly, and understanding from many in Kingsgate Street that they abstain from coming to Church by reason of the open admission of all comers, whereby our congregation has grown very thin, wee therefore order that henceforward the west door of our Church shalbe kept shutt, and the porter constantly readye at the gate next Kingsgate to give admission to the Mayor and Aldermen and all such persons as are known not to be dangerous, to repair to Divine Service and Sermons. The said porter shall not at any time admit any idle boys, or girls, or straggling beggars, and shall drive and keep out horses, cows, or other cattle, come under pretence of the herbage of the Close. He shall not admit any person on pretended business with any one in the Close until said inhabitant is apprised thereof. The said porter to have £3 for his extra trouble during the infection, over and above the £3 which Richard Edwards, the head porter, allows him.

"The bell-ringers, whose office it is to make the graves, shall not make any for infected corpses in any public part of the Churchyard, but only in least public and common parts furthest from the inhabitants. The graves to be 3 feet deep. The bell-ringers, or those they employ, shall keep at a distance from other people."

There are no deaths recorded in the Close, and the disease died out in 1667. There is an entry in the Sessions' Books that one Gregorie and Sarah his wife died then of it in St. Peter Cheeshill; and in the same year John Foyle, Keeper of the County Gaol, had £3 "for his

great trouble, charges, and expenses in taking care of the several persons late deceased."

How the ecclesiastical and civic authorities comported themselves in this "needful time of trouble" we are quite in the dark. Did they fly terror-stricken, or, like the heroic Rector of Eyam in Derbyshire, remain at their posts, succouring the afflicted and the poor? Let us charitably believe that the latter was the case. I prefer to think that all, cleric and lay, showed the pluck of Englishmen, and, fortified by love of duty, faced and conquered danger. Our old city for generations has never lacked men of spirit in times of difficulty; and it is to such we owe, under God, our present perfect sanitation, our unrivalled healthiness, and the lowest death-rate almost in England.

The last panic as to the plague was in 1721, when it broke out in France, and our careful Corporators of that year petitioned the Legislature to put down smuggling of French brandies and other goods, which were detrimental to the revenue, and likely to introduce the infection of the plague.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Two very valuable works owe their existence to the labour of our Associate, Alderman R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle.—(1), *The Royal Charters of the City of Carlisle*, printed at the expense of the Mayor and Corporation of the City. (Carlisle: Thurnam and Sons.)—The corporate authorities sanctioned the transcribing and translating of the charters by Mr. W. de G. Birch, and entrusted the work of editing the texts to Mr. Ferguson, who has performed his task with the greatest ability. The explanatory notes being of a very useful and instructive nature, the work constitutes a model book on city charters, such as we should like to see of many another of our old corporate bodies.

To those who do not care to plod through the text of these deeds, the historical preface, dealing with the varied fortunes of this border stronghold, offers special attraction, coming as it does from the pen of one whose knowledge of the history of the county of Cumberland is second to no other living historian. Long may Carlisle continue to enjoy the privileges of which it has known so well how to preserve the *diplomata*, and to disseminate, by the means of a little book within reach of all, an accurate transcription of the contents thereof.

The other is the *History of Westmorland*, a contribution to Mr. Stock's well-known series of County Histories, which have gone far to fill up the want felt by those who cannot obtain the older and more ponderous works on county topography. This is a companion volume to Mr. Ferguson's *Cumberland*, and sustains the author's reputation for northern history. Kendal, Appleby, and other places in the county have passed through critical and stirring epochs, and Mr. Ferguson has known how to portray them vividly in his pages.

West-Grinstead et les Caryll : étude historique et religieuse sur le Comté de Sussex. Par MAX DE TRENUALEON. (Paris, 1893.)—It cannot but strike a reader of this work as somewhat strange that it should have been found possible to publish two volumes in French mainly about an English family, comparatively so little known—the Carylls of West-Grinstead. The collection of the material, and the work of weaving it into a connected narrative, have evidently been a labour of love for M. de Trenqualéon and for the original collector, whom we take to have been Monsignor Denis, the Roman Catholic priest of West-Grinstead.

A considerable portion of the first volume is taken up by a detailed history of the religious foundations in the county of Sussex from the earliest times, and does not present any new information on the subject. It is hardly likely to prove of much interest to the general reader. At chapter xiv of the first volume the author introduces Nicholas Caryll of Benton, whom we may take as the first known member of the family, the history of which is related with considerable detail from his time (in the middle of the sixteenth century) till the last surviving member died, in 1788, at Dunkerque.

The story, as we have it in these pages, is very complete and interesting, and well repays perusal, for the picture it gives of the life of a Catholic country gentleman and his family during what were to him difficult and even disastrous times. The facts are drawn chiefly from the collection of Caryll correspondence and papers, which form some thirty volumes among the *Additional MSS.* in the British Museum. The members of the family were all of them staunch adherents of the old faith, and it furnished a goodly number of subjects to the various Catholic monasteries and convents which during the penal laws were established to meet English needs in foreign lands. The Carylls also became constant supporters of the Stuarts, and one of their number (the then head of the house), who had followed his King into exile, was created by James II a Baron, under the title of Lord Caryll.

The excellent pedigree of the family records the names of many members of the old Catholic families with whom the Carylls intermarried. This, and a good deal of similar information given in these volumes, will be found most useful for genealogical purposes. It is of interest to note among the friends of the family the name of Alexander Pope. The poet frequently visited the home of the Carylls at West-Grinstead, and during the years 1713 and 1714 he was constantly to be found with them; in fact, he is said to have written a considerable portion of the translation of *The Iliad* and also *The Rape of the Lock* whilst staying in this Sussex retreat. The work under notice gives many pleasing records of Pope's visits to his friends, on which he was not unfrequently accompanied by Gay.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to remark that many of the letters obviously lose not a little of their interest for us by their translation into French, and we could have wished that they had been given in their own language. We are, however, grateful to M. de Trenqualeon for having so well utilised the large mass of interesting documents which have been allowed too long to remain practically unworked among the MSS. of the British Museum.

Preservation of Welsh National Records.—A deputation of gentlemen interested in the preservation of Welsh historical documents had a

conference recently with the Welsh Members of the House of Commons. They pointed out that a large number of valuable documents, bearing not only on Welsh but on English history, are in existence, some of which are in danger of being lost beyond recovery, unless steps are taken to prevent such a misfortune. They strongly urged the appointment by the Government of a qualified person to examine into and catalogue such documents. Sir J. Hibbert was present at the conference, in company with others, and, without definitely pledging the Government in the matter, he has promised that the representations made at the conference should be favourably considered. Our readers should read a paper by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., on this subject, published in 1889 in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th Series, vol. vi, p. 273.

The Euganeo-Venetian Inscriptions.—We have just received from Signor F. Cordenons a copy of his recent contribution towards the elucidation of the ancient Italian languages, entitled *Un po' più di luce sulle Origini, idioma, e sistema di scrittura degli Euganei-Veneti*. (Venezia : Ford, Ongania, 1894.)

Signor Cordenons, the illustrious Conservatore of the Civic Museum of Padua, is evidently well qualified to instruct us on this somewhat obscure subject, which does not seem to have received so much attention at the hands of British epigraphists as it deserves. All sources of classic Latin are of value beyond question to those who have the desire of acquiring a correct knowledge of the roots upon which it is based ; hence it is essential that Etruscan, Oscan, Euganean, and other archaic forms should be well understood. It is, therefore, deserving of the thanks of all Latin scholars, that so excellent a handbook on the Euganean linguistic remains should have been issued. The last words on the subject, we know, have not yet been said, and future discoveries of inscribed antiquities may some day reveal the key to the true interpretation by means of a bilingual inscription of sufficient extent to put the truth beyond doubt. Had it not been for some such inscriptions as the Rosetta Stone affords, what errors were beginning to be accepted by Egyptologists in their endeavour to explain a language which is now almost as critically understood as Greek is. Whether the author of this work is accurate in his explanations, or not, time will show : at any rate his book is of value for the probability of most of its conclusions, and for its embodiment of all the known inscriptions, by which means students cannot fail to owe him a debt of gratitude.

The vocabulary, or alphabetical index of words, occurring in the *corpus inscriptionum* is an indispensable part of this suggestive and advanced work on a subject of great interest.

Our learned Vice-President, Rev. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., Sub-Dean of St. Paul's, has just issued an interesting volume entitled *St. Paul's Cathedral and old City Life: Illustrations of Civil and Cathedral Life from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Century.* (Stock: London.)—This is a work which should be taken in hand in conjunction with the other books by Dr. Simpson treating of Old St. Paul's. In this one we are introduced to a better knowledge of the treasury of the Cathedral in 1245 and in 1402, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London in the Cathedral, notable incidents connected with the history of the City and the royal family, and numerous points which the author has laboriously gathered together out of a multitude of manuscripts and printed sources, grouping them together in a classified order, and describing each detail in that pleasant, facile way which those who have had the pleasure of listening to his papers at our evening meetings are well acquainted with.

As we read we may picture to ourselves the curious condition of mind enjoyed by the majority in London in the middle Ages, when ignorance, superstition, cruelty, and buffoonery were rampant. The wonder is that out of so much folly that our ancestors manifestly revelled in, St. Paul's and its environments still exist to glorify the better understanding of these later days.

A History of Tong, Shropshire; its Church, Manor, Parish, etc.; with Notes on Boscobel. By GEO. GRIFFITHS of Weston-under-Lizard. (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1894.)—Mr. Griffiths, who has been collecting materials for his book for many years past, has put together all his collections in a highly efficient manner, and by means of extracts from reliable sources, reproductions of old views, drawings, and pictures, and notes of his own observations and investigations, has laid before the reader of his popular little volume a very readable account of this interesting locality, which, from its very position on the borders of Wales, from its connection with the unfortunate Charles I, from its two nunneries of Black Ladies and White Ladies, and from its noble owners and residents (the families of Belmeis, La Zouche, Pembruge, Vernon, Pierrepont, Durant, and lastly, Bridgeman, Earls of Bradford), possesses a qualification second to none for attracting the attention of the antiquary and archæologist.

We have also received from Mr. Elliot Stock the new volume of *The Gentleman's Magazine Library*, being a classified collection of the chief contents of the *Magazine* from 1731 to 1868, edited by G. L. GOMME, F.S.A.—This volume, which is due to the labours of F. A. Milne, Esq., F.S.A., treats of the *Ecclesiology*,—a subject which has always been popular, and commanded notice of those who took but

little interest in other branches of archaeology. The contents are divided into early church buildings, church interiors, consisting of the antiquity of bells, chantries, confessionals, organs, plate, reading-desks, stained glass, etc.; and church history, including a description of the cathedrals of Ireland, the churches of the Friars Preachers, and the Bishop's Palace and ecclesiastical buildings of Wells. The whole forms quite a Dictionary of British ecclesiology, and is replete with a great deal of forgotten and out-of-the-way matters relating to our churches.

Ancient Monuments in Govan Parish.—The Heritors of this parish, by voluntary assessment, have raised a sum of about £90, to be applied towards the erection of a suitable building for the better preservation of the sculptured stones in Govan Churchyard. These stones are of great archaeological value. Mr. J. Romilly Allen recently made a Report on Sculptured Stones North of the Tweed, to the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, in which he referred to the neglect of their preservation at Govan, and in a letter he says: "These monuments constitute the title-deeds which prove that a Christian establishment existed at Govan before A.D. 1066, and their number shows how great the sanctity of the place must have been. The group of stones and Celtic ornaments is larger than at any other place, not excepting Meigle or St. Vigans. Govan must have been looked upon in early times with the same degree of reverence, by the Celtic population, as we feel for Westminster Abbey." Mr. John Honeyman and many other distinguished antiquaries have also written in praise of the remarkable stones of which the churchyard is full.

It is unfortunate that the parochial ecclesiastical law of Scotland does not authorise any means for raising money for the preservation of the antiquities which may be said to be confided to their care. The Heritors have, therefore, acted liberally in imposing upon themselves the voluntary assessment which has met with so gratifying a response. It is, however, felt that to provide an adequate building about £300 will be required, and the Committee appeal for £210, which is required in addition to the £90 now in hand. The Committee feel that the sculptured stones of Govan are in a sense a national trust, and they believe they may look with confidence to the practical sympathy of every one who has at heart the preservation of the ancient and beautiful national monuments which, by a remarkable chance, have been preserved in the neighbourhood of the great city of Glasgow.

It should, perhaps, be known that some years ago the Heritors erected a small house in the graveyard to preserve the very remarkable stone coffin discovered in Govan Churchyard, and two of the hog-backed stones. It is proposed now to utilise a portion of this build-

ing, and to erect a corridor in which the other crosses may be placed for protection against the elements. The building will be lighted from the roof, so that the tracery on the stones may be easily examined; and the key of the building will be deposited with the church beadle, who resides under the church, and is able at any time to give access to the monuments. As some of the stones are beginning to suffer from exposure in their present position, it is very desirable that the building should be prepared as soon as possible, and Mr. William George Black, F.S.A., of 88 West Regent Street, Glasgow, will therefore be glad to receive any contributions.

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DECEMBER 1894.

KIRKHAM PRIORY AND WARDON ABBEY.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(*Read 6th June 1894.*)

THE Priory of Kirkham is situate in a vale on the east side of the river Derwent, about two or three miles south-east from Whitwell, and about six miles southwest from Malton, in the Deanery of Bucross and Archdeaconry of the East Riding of the county of York. It was originally one of Walter Espec's chief mansions, and was converted by him and Adeline, his wife, into a Priory of Austin Canons, and dedicated to the honour of the Holy Trinity,¹ and was one of the three monasteries founded by them (according to the popular account) in consequence of their only son, Walter, galloping one day towards Frithby, near Kirkham, when his horse fell near a stone cross, and the young man died instantly.

In my account of Rievaulx Abbey, read at our York Congress in the year 1891,² I have gone fully into the circumstances which, according to the popular belief, led to these foundations, and the doubts which the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, in his introduction to the Cartulary of Rievaulx, casts upon the story, which I need not, therefore, repeat here, except by noticing that the circumstance of the name of Walter Espec's son being omitted from the list of those persons for whose souls' health that Abbey was founded, as stated in the original foundation-

¹ *Ailred's Rievaulx*, 338n, n. 10, 239ab.

² *Brit. Arch. Journ.*, vol. xlvi, p. 15.

charter, to which I then alluded, tended to throw doubt on the truth of the story, is confirmed by the omission of his name in the foundation-charter of this Priory.

There is conflicting testimony as to the exact date of the foundation. In the last edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1830), by Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, it is said that the Priory was founded in A.D. 1121, and that William, the Rector of Garton (Walter Espec's uncle), was appointed the first Prior in that year; but Dugdale, in the first edition (1682) of his *Monasticon*, gives the exact date as 8 Kalends of March (22nd Feby.), A.D. 1122 (22 Hen. I), and the fifth year of the pontificate of Thurstan, Archbishop of York. This discrepancy may be accounted for by the custom of calculating the days of the months from the Roman calendar, whilst retaining the Christian calendar for the year. As the Roman year began in March, and the calculations of the days of the month were made backwards, it would throw the date of 22 Feby. into the previous Roman year.

There are two foundation-charters set out in Dugdale. The first is from the Registry of Belvoir, in the county of Rutland,¹ and is directed to Thurstan, Archbishop of York, and Geoffrey, Bishop of Durham, and their successors, from Walter Espec and Adelina his wife, in which they state that they had granted to God and the Church of St. Trinity, of Kirkham, and the canons of the same, serving God, with the consent of Henry King of England, and the consent of "us", and the consent of "my" nephews, viz., the sons of "my" sisters, and for the souls of "our" fathers and mothers, and of all "our" parents and benefactors, and of "our" ancestors, in free and perpetual eleemosynary gift, all the manor of Kirkham, and the parish church of Kirkham, and divers other lands set forth in the charter. It will be observed, as I have before stated, that there is no specific mention of their son Walter, whose death is popularly supposed to have been the cause of the foundation.

The second charter of foundation is from the Cartulary of Rievaulx,² and is for the most part a confirmation of

¹ *Cart. Antique*, V. *Vide* *Cart.*, 10 Edward III, n. 33, et Pat. 10 Edward II, p. 1, m. 8.

² In *Bibl. Cotton.*, fo. 134B.

the grants made by the first charter, with some additions.

Tanner, in his *Monasticon*, after referring to the date of the foundation (1122) as given by Dugdale, draws attention to the fact that the first charter was directed to Archbishop Thurston and Geoffrey, Bishop of Durham, though Geoffrey was not Bishop till A.D. 1129, and he draws the conclusion that this was the charter of dotation endowing the Monastery some time after the religious were first placed there. This is, no doubt, the true explanation, for it will be observed that the words of grant in the charter are in the past tense, "concessisse et dedisse", and point, therefore, to the Prior and canons being already in possession, and that the charter confirmed their possession, though it was the first actual deed which conveyed the estates.¹

The following are the grants to the Priory by Walter Espec, the founder :—

Two parts of the tithes of the demesnes of Beelton in Northumberland.

The church and town of Carr-upon-Tweed, in Northumberland.

The fishery in the river Derwent, near Howsom.

The tithe of Howsom Mill, built at Fudeston or Edestone, on the banks of the Derwent.

The church of Garton, with a carucate of land in this territory, viz., a field called "St. Michael's Flat." This church was afterwards appropriated to the Priory, and a vicarage endowed therein; "but", says Burton,² "I cannot now determine by whom or when, yet I find in A.D. 1322 Wm. Thurkeston, *vel* Norreys, to be the first vicar upon record."

The church of Helmesley Blakemore, with one carucate of land and three tofts, "scil. toftam canonicorum et toftam presbiteri et toftam Aldredi", and pannage in this wood for all the hogs belonging to the canons and their men, and also pasture for their other cattle. Although this church was appropriated to the Priory, and a vicarage appointed there, there is no earlier account of the

¹ A similar course was adopted in the foundation charter of Rievaulx Abbey.

² *Eccles. Hist. of Yorkshire.*

vicars than in A.D. 1320, when Walter de Sixendale was instituted vicar.

The church in the town of Hildreton.

Two parts of the tithes of the Mill of Hoelton in Northumberland.

The tithe-pennies or tithe-deniers of his farms, and of the apples of his manors, especially of the town of Howsom, and mill, with fishery in the river Derwent near here.

The church, with one carucate of land, in Kirkby in Crandale, which church was appropriated thereto, and a vicarage ordained therein. The first vicar upon record is John de Meningthorpe, instituted in A.D. 1305.

The manor of Kirkham, with the parochial church and one carucate and twenty-four acres of land lying between the wood and river of Derwent, with liberty for the hogs belonging to the Priory to pasture in Kirkham Wood pannage free; and he also gave the tenth penny of the farm of his mill. He also gave to these canons free liberty through the whole extent of this manor (*purprium*), and all his houses, mill, meadow, and all that he had between the Wood and the river, with the fishery of Kirkham and Howsom in lieu of the tithes of five carucates of land in Tilleston and four carucates in Grift, which then the Abbot and Convent of Rieval had.

The tithe of his demesne in the township of Lynton.

Two parts of the tithe of his demesnes in the township of Myndrom.

The church of Newton, in Glendale, with all thereto belonging, with all the land of Nefskill.

All his demesne tithes, viz., the tithe-pennies of the tax (*censu*) of all his lands in Northumberland.

Four carucates of land in Sextendale, and after his (founder's) decease, other four carucates which he had in hand, unless he should have given them in his lifetime.

The manor of Titlington with its appurtenances.

A house in Werch.

The town of Whitwell, with a carucate of land thereto belonging; and King Henry III granted to the Prior and canons free warren in this manor; Westhuc, Winestowe or Wisthow, and seven carucates of land thereto belonging, with the church formerly called "Mora", which was appropriated thereto.

And all his houses in the city of York.¹

A contest arose between Hugh, Prior of Kirkham, and William de Ross about the chase and the woods of Hamalack (Helmsley), which was determined by an agreement dated "die Sancti Martini A.D. 1261", by which William de Ross gave to the Prior and Convent of Kirkham, in perpetuity, one toft in Pockle, free from all service; and also free passage through the woods and moors of William, the lord of Hamalack, everywhere except through the park; and the said William and his heirs gave to the Prior and canons, and their successors, three deer yearly, in lieu of the tithes of hunting; and also gave £5 (cs.) *per annum* in lieu of the tithes of apples of his manors, which tithes were given by the founder. For which concessions the Prior and canons quit-claimed to the said William de Ross and to his heirs, in perpetuity, all free chase in the said woods and moors.²

There were also the controversy and negotiations between the two houses of Kirkham and Rievaulx, owing to their inconvenient propinquity, which I have referred to in my paper on Rievaulx, and which are fully discussed by Mr. Atkinson in his introduction to the Cartulary of that house. The Abbot and monks of Rievaulx were desirous of bringing over the Prior and canons to the Cistercian Order, and some of the canons and brethren reciprocated; but the result was that the Prior and canons remained in their own place, and continued to be an Augustinian Priory.

There is also a Missal and Calendar of the Priory of Gisburne in the Ashburnham Collection.³ At the end of the Calendar are two leaves containing the conventions of the Priory with eight religious houses, amongst which is Kirkham. Walter Hemingford, the chronicler, was a canon of Gisburne Priory. He died A.D. 1347.

There is another charter or grant from the same Prior Hugh and the canons,⁴ by which they granted to Walter, a huntsman (*venator*), of Berghertorp, two bovates of land,

¹ Burton's *Eccles. Hist. of Yorkshire*, p. 374.

² Cart., Num. 4, in Dugd., *Monas.*, Appendix, "Ex Registro Cartarum Hospitalis S. Leonardi Eboraci in Bibliotheca Cotton.", fo. 30B.

³ Hist. MSS. Comm., 8th Rep., App., Pt. 3

⁴ Num. V, Dugd., *Monas.*, Appendix.

with the appurtenances, in Berghertorp, free and quit from all services and demands, rendering annually twenty *solidos*,¹ half at Pentecost, and half at the Feast of St. Martin; and the new mill of Berghertorp, "ad formam aliorum ejusdem villæ". Dugdale adds a note that this charter is without seal or date, and much damaged ("multum obesa").

The last Prior was John Kilwick, who was, says Dugdale, confirmed 14 Oct. 1518; but Burton² calls him Kildwyk, and dates his election in 1528. He had a pension of £50 *per ann.* subsequently to the Dissolution.

The Ross family were the patrons of the Priory.

In the 26th Henry VIII this house was valued in the full at £300 : 15 : 6; in the clear income at £269 : 5 : 9 *per ann.* It was surrendered at the Dissolution by the Prior and seventeen canons, on the 8th Dec. 1539. There were—lead, 30 fodder; bells, 7; plate, 442 oz.

In 32 Henry VIII the Priory was granted to Sir Henry Knevit, Knt., and Ann his wife; but in the 3rd Edw. VI the Earl of Rutland held it of the King *in capite*, by military service, to whom, in the 5th Elizabeth, the Queen gave licence to alienate this manor, with those of Byllesdale, Staperlow, and Regvalx, to Edward Jackman and Richard Lambert.

Mr. W. de G. Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum* contains the seal of the Priory (Nos. 3360-3362), late twelfth century, and of the Prior (No. 3363), thirteenth century. In this the water-bouget and the wheel of Espec are introduced.

Wardon Abbey.—Wardon Abbey was the last, in order of date, of the three foundations of Walter Espec, and was dedicated by him to the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was situate at Wardon, in the hundred of Wixantree, and Deanery of Shefford, in the county of Beds., about three miles west of Biggleswade, and about nine from Bedford. It was furnished with monks from the Abbey of Rievaulx, and thus became, and continued, a Cistercian foundation.

¹ The *solidus* was a gold coin, the same as the Roman *aureus*, which passed for 25 *denarii*. Its value in gold was £1 : 1 : 1 of our present money. See Smith's *Classical Dict.*

² *Eccles. Hist. of Yorkshire.*

Dugdale calls it a cell of Rievaulx. It was known as Wardon, *alias De Sartis*, and was so named from *de essartis* or *assartis*, as built in a place which had once been a wood, but which was afterwards grubbed up and cleared. "Now", says Tanner, writing in 1787, "it is all meadows or pasture-land."

In Lambarde's *Topographical and Historical History of England*, which was compiled by him prior to, and is described as the mine from which he extracted, his *History of Kent*, he gives the following description of the foundation of Wardon Abbey:—

"There lived in the Reigne of Kinge Hen. I a Knight called Sir Walter Spec, who having none issue of his Bodie to inherit his Landes, made adoption out of the Bastarde Religion, bestowing his Livelihood upon the Monasteries, that is to say, Kirkham, Ryvers, & this Warden in Bedfordshire, which was valued in the Recordes at 389 Pounds of Yearly Revenue. The Chron: of Chester called this man Lespec, and the Monasterie the Daughter of Ryvers, because it was after the same Rule and Order."¹

The date of the foundation has been variously given. Dugdale, in the second edition of his *Monasticon* (1682), says it was founded in A.D. 1136; but in the last edition, by Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, the date 1135 is given, with a charter of confirmation by King Stephen, dated in that year of grace, and the first year of that King's reign. *The Annals of Norwich*, cited in the *Monasticon*, give A.D. 1136, which agrees with Lambarde from *The Chron. of Chester*; and Leland, in his *Collectanea*,² gives A.D. 1138. He says: "MCXXXVIII. Ecclesia Roffensis combusta est. Eodem Anno abbatiæ de Wardonia alias de Sartis incipiuntur."

As Stephen's charter was a confirmation, and not an original grant, no later year than 1135 can be accepted as the date of the foundation of the Abbey; but the word "incipiuntur" used by Leland may refer to the construction of the permanent conventional buildings; and this is most likely, as the nominative to "incipiuntur" is understood; *i.e.*, taking "abbatiæ" as the genitive singular, and not the nominative plural.

By Stephen's charter he gave to God and the Churc of St. Mary de Essartis, and to the monks of the same,

¹ 1136. Herald's note, *Chron. Ches.*

² Vol. iii, p. 73.

the whole essart of Wardon and of Ludgivela, and all the wood of his two vills which Walter Espec had given to them.

Richard I, by charter dated 11th Nov., in the 10th year of his reign (A.D. 1199), confirmed to the Abbot and monks of Wardon, of the Order of Cistercians, the place where the Abbey was founded; the granges of Rueye-de-Parco and De PUCHO, with all the land which is called Rode, in Middleton; the Grange de Middleho, Ravensho, Ramhale, Molebroke, with all the land which they have in Prestelia; the Grange of Landaboldesheyne, West Wardon, Odeseth, with all the land which they have in Duntone; the Grange of Bradefield, with Fildemwoda; the Grange of Burnedene, with all the land which they have in Berwham; the Grange of Livermere, and all land which they have in Stainford, and in Sucinal, and in Chicksand.

In A.D. 1217 Fulk de Breaute, a powerful baron, whose enormous outrages (says Lysons), seem to have rendered him the terror of the country, treated the monks of this Convent with much cruelty, on account of a dispute about a wood, and carried thirty of them prisoners to Bedford Castle; yet such was the ascendancy of the Church at that time, that he was glad to make his peace by submitting to receive manual discipline from the monks in the Chapter House at Wardon, at the same time confirming to them the wood about which the dispute had arisen, and promising them his protection ever after.

The first Abbot of whom mention is made is Simon, who occurs in a composition respecting the church of Sugville. He is also named in a *Privilegium* of Pope Innocent, directed to "Simon the Abbot and his brethren in the Monastery of St. Mary de Sartis, which is in the diocese of Lincoln", by which the Pope allowed them to acquire lands, and took them under his protection.¹

In the 6th John (1205), Warine, Abbot of Wardon, was a party to a fine from Willkard Leide and Margery his wife, of twenty acres of land in Wardon; and in the 10th John (1209), Lawrence, Abbot, was a party to a fine from the same parties.²

¹ *Hunteriana Collectanea*, p. 25 (No. 9, Add. MSS., Brit. Mus.).

² *Ibid.* (No. 103).

In the 7th Henry III (A.D. 1223), Roger, Abbot of Wardon, is a party to a fine levied in that year by Henry Braybrook and Christian his wife, to the Abbot, of thirty acres of land in West Wardon.

Adam, Abbot of Wardon, was made Bishop of Connor in 1241.¹

Leland says² that in A.D. 1243 the Abbot of Wardon was elected by the Cardinals to the Roman bishopric, but on account of the Emperor they were not able to have him ("propter imperatoris... non potuerunt habere"), and so they elected Senebaldus, who was called Innocent IV. This is a brief summary of the transactions which took place on the death of Pope Gregory IX, an account of which is given by Matthew Paris, from which it appears that the Emperor Francis II had imprisoned the Cardinals; and on the death of the Pope, on the 22nd August 1241, ten of their number had returned to the Roman Court, two being still kept in prison by the Emperor. These ten could not come to a satisfactory determination as to the election of a new Pope because their number was broken up; they therefore sent to the Emperor begging him to send the two Cardinals to the Court on whatever terms he chose to impose. This the Emperor granted, being softened by the entreaties of Earl Richard, on condition, however, that unless Otho were elected Pope, they should return to their former state and condition in prison. When, therefore, they were all assembled in the Palace called the Palace of the Sun, five of the Cardinals elected a sixth, who was Geoffrey of Milan; and this election was favoured by the Emperor, who congratulated him on it. The three remaining ones elected a fourth, namely Romanus; but this election the Emperor opposed, as he considered him a man of disreputable character.

A serious division was thus created between the brethren on account of these elections; for he ought to be elected Pope in whose election two parts of the electors have consented, in accordance with the decree of Alexander. And thus this matter, so deeply concerning the

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. v, ed. 1830.

² *Collect.*, tom. i, 261.

Church, was left unfinished ; and they were divided, or rather dispersed, both in mind and body.¹

While the election of the Pope was in abeyance, the papal power devolved upon the community of the Cardinals, who sent a letter to the holy man, the Abbot of Wardon, directing him to render full satisfaction to Master Peter, canon of the Church of the Chief of the Apostles, Rector of the church of Morden, concerning the farm of the church. This letter is dated "A.D. MCCXLIII, the apostolic see being vacant."

In A.D. 1252, King Henry III, finding that the disputes which arose amongst the nobles on account of their warrens, caused a great (though disgracefully acquired) increase to his treasury by the forfeitures which they incurred, ordered a proclamation to be made, that whoever wished to have a warren should obtain one on payment of a sum of money. Of this permission, amongst others, the Abbot and monks of Wardon paid the required sum, and obtained a right of warren from the King. This, however, seemed to William Beauchamp to be derogatory to his right ; he therefore seized on their cattle, wounded and killed several of the brethren, and otherwise injured them in many ways.

In A.D. 1256, Master Rustand, on the apostolic authority, summoned all the Abbots of the Cistercian Order in England to appear before him on the fourth Sunday after Easter, to hear a message from the Pope (Alexander IV). Rustand demanded of them, for the use of the Pope and the King, a large sum of money, as much as the cost of their wool amounted to ; and all their means of profit, and even of supporting life, depended on their wool. They firmly replied that they were not allowed to give a positive answer to such a heavy demand without asking the consent and advice of the Abbot and Chapter of the Cistercians, of which they were the limbs and the children ; and thus they returned to their convents, leaving Master Rustand in a state of great anger. He complained to the King, stating that the Abbots had replied that they would not in any way help him in his necessity. The King, in his anger, swore that he would injure

¹ Matthew Paris, vol. i, p. 384, Bohn's ed.

and persecute them singly, as he could not bend them to consent to his wishes when united.

At this time Ida, the wife of William Beauchamp, a woman of noble family, but (says Matthew Paris) vile and degenerate in her morals, finding a favourable opportunity, in consequence of the King's anger, of injuring the Abbot of Wardon, made a serious accusation against the Abbot in the King's Court, on frivolous grounds, or no grounds at all. The Abbot was left at the mercy of the King; and as he (the King) had stopped all other ways of obtaining mercy, except by application to himself, the Abbot applied to the King for mercy, who replied, "How can you have the front to ask me for mercy? You, who with your brother Abbots so lately refused mercy to me in my necessity." And he fined him a large sum of money, at the option and will of his persecutors.

Other Abbots of the Cistercian Order were likewise compelled to suffer manifold losses and injuries, which led to the Pope's (Alexander IV) interference on their behalf, and to his decree of the 25th May, in the first year of his pontificate (A.D. 1254), exempting the Cistercians from the payment to the King of the tithes of their revenues and incomes. About the same time, also, the Pope sent a letter of entreaty to the King, on behalf of the Cistercian Order, and Cardinal White wrote in their favour; and thus (says Matthew Paris) for a time the Cistercians breathed freely, and enjoyed a sort of tranquillity, such as it was.

In the 6th Edward II, the Abbot of Wardon was assessed at 2*s.* to a tallage made on certain lands in Cambridge and Huntingdon, including certain religious houses, some of which were beyond the boundaries of these counties.

A fragment of a Register of Wardon Abbey is preserved in the Harleian MS. 4765. It formerly belonged to Peter le Neve, Norroy. It relates to the lands of the monks exempt from tithes at Edenham in the diocese of Lincoln, Burgh in Cambridgeshire (now called Burrow Green), Ravensholt, Boughden, Duffenfeld, and Le Wodfeld. Bound with this is the Harleian MS. 4766, and rental of the lands of the Abbey at Newton S. Crucis, Dene Priour, Scheagh, Priorton, Thryscheneton, Waterfall,

Tamerton, Martynstow, and their granges, taken in the 9th Henry IV.

The common seal was circular, and (says Dugdale) very elegant. The subject of it represented the Blessed Virgin crowned, holding in her right hand the Child; in her left, a stalk with flowers. She is seated under a highly ornamented canopy, and in niches on each side of her are figures praying to her; the whole interior profusely ornamented with tabernacle-work. Legend, s. com'VNE . ABBATIS . ET . CO'VENTVS . DE . WARDONE. There is a counter-seal bearing the abbatial arms, viz., a demi-crozier between three warden-pears¹ in a shield surrounded with these words, SPES . MEA . IN . DEO . EST. The impression on this seal is on red wax. It is appendant to the surrender in the Augmentation Office, dated 4th Dec. 29 Hen. VIII.²

The gross income of the Abbey at the suppression (26 Hen. VIII) was rated at £442 : 11 : 11; the net receipts at £389 : 16 : 6. It was surrendered by Henry Emery, the last Abbot, and fourteen monks, on the 4th Dec. 1538 (29 Hen. VIII). The Abbot gave as his reasons for resigning, the wickedness and ignorance of the monks.³ Lysons, in his *Magna Britannia* (published in 1813) says the small remains which were then to be seen of the conventional buildings were of brick, and of no great antiquity. A considerable part of what was represented in Buck's view was pulled down about the year 1790, and the whole of the buildings have since disappeared, "Perierunt etiam ruinae." The site, now consisting of meadow or pasture-land, was in Lysons' time the property of Mr. Whitbread, and is nearly two miles from the parish church. In 1669 it was the seat of Sir Ralph Bovey.⁴

¹ Otherwise called "abbot's pears".

² Dugdale, *Mon.*, ed. 1830, vol. v, p. 371; but see Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in the Brit. Mus.*, vol. i, Nos. 4258-9, where is also given a seal of Abbot Robert (No. 4260) from Harl. Ch. 45 A, 27.

³ Bibl. Cotton., Cleopatra, E. iv, 136B, Brit. Mus.

⁴ Lysons, *Mag. Brit.*, vol. i (Bedfordshire), p. 148.

AN ANCIENT
RECORD CONCERNING ST. AUGUSTINE'S
ABBEY, CANTERBURY.

BY THE REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

(Read 21 Nov. 1894.)

AMONG the MSS. in the British Museum is one (Campbell Charters, VI, 5) only recently unearthed by W. de Gray Birch, Esq., which for its age and its contents is of considerable interest and importance. It is the official record of a suit tried at Canterbury in the year 1176 as to the jurisdiction of the Abbey of St. Augustine over certain of their tenants in the Isle of Thanet, who claimed exemption, and their right to have their case adjudicated in their own local Court, or *Halimote*, at Minster. The historic value of this MS. lies not chiefly in the settlement of the claim against them and in favour of the Court of St. Augustine, for that is a recognised fact of history, but far more in the list of witnesses appended to it, representing as it does the leading men of the county, especially in East Kent, at that time. The identification and localising of these worthies shall be the work of the writer of the following pages.

Yet a glance at the circumstances which led up to the necessity for this trial may be introduced as a prelude to the list itself. One of the imperious acts of Henry II was his forcing upon the Abbey of St. Augustine, in direct opposition to the monks (on the death of Sylvester¹) in 1163, Clarenbald as Abbot, whom Berington (*Life of Henry II*, etc., p. 232) denounces as "a man of notorious depravity". The monks never acknowledged him as their Abbot, never admitted him to their Chapter, nor permitted him to celebrate any offices in their Church; and, though he is by some styled the "Abbot elect", his thirteen years' occupancy of it is regarded as a "vacancy"

¹ "Post mortem Sylvestri quidam Secularis nomine Clarenbaldus per potentiam Regis in Monasterium violenter fuit intrusus, set et vacavit de facto Monasterium per quindecim fere annos." (*Chronica W. Thorn [Decem Scriptores]*, p. 1815.)

of the Abbatial chair.¹ He was eventually deposed by the Pope, Alexander, in 1173:¹ having utterly neglected the interests of the Monastery, enriched himself by appropriating much of the Abbey lands,² and allowed the rents of the rest to fall into great confusion and arrears.

It was during his time that the memorable fire broke out which consumed so much of the Abbey Church in 1168; and two years after, he, in servile sycophancy to the King, received the four conspirator knights into his apartments and consulted with them on their meditated attack upon the Archbishop (Becket).

Such was the state of things at the time when the trial arose of which this is the record.

On the deposition of Clarenbald, Roger of Dover, as he was called, a monk of the Christ Church Monastery, and the appointed keeper of the Altar in the Martyrdom, was elected, and set himself vigorously to recover the lands and dues which the laxness and depravity of his predecessor had allowed to pass away from the Monastery. A considerable portion of these possessions lay in the Isle of Thanet, and against the holders of these lands proceedings were taken.

BRITISH MUSEUM, CAMPBELL CHARTER, VI, 5.

Anno ab incarnatione domini M.C.LXX^oVI^o. Anno autem regni H(enrici) regis secundi. vicesimo secundo, mense Decembri in uigilia sancti Thome Apostoli. Rogerus electus beati Augustini Cantuarie & homines de Thaneto qui pertinent ad tenementum beati Augustini tali modo pacificati sunt. Controversia quippe magna inter ipsum electum & homines de Thanetho diutius agitata est. Ipsi Thanetensibus asserentibus se ad capitalem curiam beati Augustini Cantuarie placitaudi causa vel judicium sustinendi nullo modo debere accedere. sed in halimoto suo in Thaneto omnia judicia sua exerceri. Unde idem electus potestatem regiam interpellans obtinuit quod ex regio mandato eadem controversia in comitatu Cantie debitum finem sortiretur. Die itaque constituto Cantuarie in eodem comitatu astantibus utrisque partibus in conspectu Johannis de Cardif. supplentis uicem Roberti filii Bernardi uicecomitis. idem Thanethenses coacti ratione equitatis recognuerunt debere se ad curiam sancti Augustini Cantuarie uenire

¹ Pope Alexander's Bull deposing and excommunicating Clarenbald is given in Hardwick's ed., T. Elmham, *Hist. Monasterii*, p. 415.

² "Bona et possessiones Monasterii interius et exterius violenta manu occupavit." (*Ibid.*, p. 1816.)

quotiens summoniti fuerint, & ibidem si querelam de aliqua re erga eos abbas habuerit placitum inire & judicio curie stare sicut homines alterius ville, & recognouerunt quod illud idem dirationatum fuerat contra se tempore Clarenbaldi quondam electi. De rebellione vero sua guagium dederunt abbati in manu ipsius & hoc in manu Radulphi seneschalli sui vidente omni comitatu.

Hujus actionis testes sunt :

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Johannes de Cardif. | 44 & 45. Heilgarus de Sturcia &
Adam filius eius. |
| 2 & 3. Elias de Shilinghelde &
Daniel frater eius. | 46. Beuidictus de Farburna. |
| 4 & 5. Adam de Cheringes & Yuo
filius eius. | 47. Samson de Neulande. |
| 6 & 7. Geruasius de Hosprenge &
Hernens nepos eius. | 48. Willelmus Burel. |
| 8 & 9. Willelmus de Essechesford
& Thomas frater eius. | 49. Radulphus Valeis. |
| 10 & 11. Fulco Peisforiere & Ri-
cardus Peisforiere. | 50. Alanus de Welles. |
| 12. Willelmus de Chusingtune. | 51 & 52. Walterus de Herste &
Robertus filius eius. |
| 13. Willelmus Uel. | 53. Willelmus de Wigheshelle. |
| 14. Ricardus filius Heltonis. | 54. Galfridus Malabissa. |
| 15. Alanus Wischard. | 55. Haimo de Sohtford. |
| 16. Willelmus filius Nigelli. | 56 & 57. Willelmus de Ordlaues-
tune & Simon frater eius. |
| 17. Mauricius de Wadinhole. | 58. Robertus filius Thome de Es-
sindenre. |
| 18. Hugo Pincerna. | 59. Ricardus de Poltune. |
| 19. Henricus de Insula. | 60. Henricus de Shornes. |
| 20. Alanus de Rethlinge. | 61. Theodericus Fameng. |
| 21. Radulphus Chofin. | 62. Willelmus de Pundherste. |
| 22 & 23. Simon de Shoneldune &
Jordanus filius eius. | 63. Radulphus de Essele. |
| 24. Willelmus de Northfolche. | 64. Willelmus de Crauthorne. |
| 25. Simon de Denintune. | 65. Ædwynus de Northebrocho. |
| 26. Petrus de Botleshangre. | 66. Rogerus Clericus. |
| 27 & 28. Willelmus Capel & Sain-
son nepos eius. | 67 & 68. Ælnothus & Adelardus
de Souedune. |
| 29. Robertus de Diua. | 69 & 70. Asketinus & Osbertus
de Suthtune. |
| 30. Florentius de Windgate. | 71. Osbertus Franceis. |
| 31. Galfridus de Essechesford. | 72. Henricus de Marisco. |
| 32. Radulphus de Fisseburne. | 73 & 74. Etardus & Wlstanus de
Wiskebeche. |
| 33. Galfridus Turchople. | 75. Ricardus Wenere. |
| 34. Willelmus de Poltune. | 76. Robertus filius Heilnoth. |
| 35. Walterus Morel. | 77 & 78. Robertus & Elmerus de
Stocco. |
| 36 & 37. Robertus de Wede &
Willelmus frater eius. | 79. Simon de Blen. |
| 38. Clemens de Sringlings. | 80 & 81. Haimo & Haldredus de
Sturmne. (?) |
| 39. Haimo filius Willelmui f. Uiel. | 82. Siredus de Cumbe. |
| 40. Henricus de Cramavilla. | 83. Ælfwinus Guinge cherl (?)
chesl). |
| 41. Johannes de Schamelesforde. | 84. Eustacius homo Radulphi de
Craie. |
| 42. Willelmus de Lille Cheriche
(Little Chart?). | |
| 43. Radulphus de Heslinges. | |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 85 & 86. Willelmus & Galfridus
de Thelebregge.
87. Helias de Schuthe.
88. Martinus Bedellus.
89. Augustinus de Helstene. | 90 & 91. Nicholaus & Willelmus
de Ossne.
92. Willelmus filius Kenewoldi.
93. Wido de Lieurechestune. |
|--|---|

ET DE THANETHO.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 94. Adrianus Miles.
95. Robertus de Westgathe.
96. Osbertus Belle.
97. Ærnoldus Vicecomes.
98. Ælmerus Clericus.
99. Godefridus Clericus.
100. Hugo filius Swanehil d.
101. Seuigel de Dudemettune.
102. Ædwardus de Ladane.
103. Normannus de Liedenne.
104. Winedei quint genal (?).
105. Heuricus filius Wichtgari.
106. Jordanus de Dumeitune.
107. Daniel de Aldilande.
108. Walterus Dispensator. | 109. Oswardus filius Elmeri.
110. Flawoldus.
111. Wluiat prestes ad hun.
112, 113, 114. Odo & Asketinus &
Ælmerus de Cluesende.
115, 116. Godhese de Stane &
Brithwoldus frater eius.
117. Godhese parvus.
118. Æluiatl Kete.
119. Henricus de Spina.
120. Ædwardus filius Brithiue.
121. Wluricus filius Acheman.
122. Godwinus filius Arnoldi.
123. Oswardus Wrenge.
et quam plures alii. |
|---|---|

Endorsed in a very old handwriting :—

“ Quod dirationatum est in Comitatu Cantie homines de Thanetho debere venire ad placitandum in Curia sancti Augustini.”

Translation of the Canterbury Trial (Br. Mus., Campbell Charters, vi, 5).

“ In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1176, but in the 22nd year of the reign of King Henry II, in the month of December, on the vigil of St. Thomas the Apostle, Roger, the Abbot-Elect of the Monastery of the Blessed Augustine of Canterbury, and the men of Thanet, who held lands under the Blessed Augustine, were reconciled after the following manner. A great controversy had forsooth long been agitated between the Abbot-Elect and these men of Thanet ; the latter asserting that they ought on no account to come before the chief Court of the Blessed Augustine of Canterbury to plead or to receive judgment, but that all their judgments (suits) should be carried out in their own Halimote (or local Court), in Thanet. Whereupon the said Abbot-Elect obtained, by appealing to the King, a royal mandate that the controversy should be brought to a due settlement in the County of Kent.”

ANNO ab incarnatione domini. circiter. Anno hunc regni h. regis Henrici secundi millesimo et nonagesimo de chancery qui faciente ad tenementum tibi Augustinum tali modo parlegit et ipsi chancelloribus differentibus se ad capitulo curia tibi Augustinum humerum suo in chancery evanua indicia sua exponit. Unde idem electus possemitatu canone debiti fore possetur. Die vero constituto canone in rote millesimo Roberto filio bernardi marchionis de chancery causa ratione expulsorum fuerunt. et ibidem si querela de illius regga est. Hic autem habet nouissime quod illos idem diracionari fuerat cum se repose clavis bardi et hoc in manu Radulphi Seneschalli sui vidente cum comitatu. Hic est ei. Alana de chevringel et iuxo filii eius. Bequalis de hospitio et hecne in forere. Rallis de chustine. Rallis uclu. Ricardus filius letonus. Alanus de insula. Alanus de rettunge. Radulfus chochia. Simon de louedune. Roldus gre. Rallis capel et Samson neps eius. Robert de duua. Florentius de vnu. Rallis de poltune. Radulfus moriel. Robert de vede. Rallis frater eius. Clemens de schamelchford. Rallis de lille cheriche. Radulfus de hestunge. Henricus de Rallis burp. Radulfus de rale. Alanus de velle. Radulfus de hammo de sohiford. Rallis de ordlauchthune et geni frater eius. Robert Theodericus tameng. Rallis de pundherste. Radulfus de essele. Rallis et Adelardus de louedune. Ascelinus et Oster de hirchtime. Ostes. Riendus de venuxe. Robert filii heilnoch. Robert et Almerus de scumbre. Alfhildus guinge chera. Lutachus hic radulphi de craye. Augustinus de hestene. Nicholaus et Rallis del oftre. Rallis filius et Robert de westgache. Ostes belle. Arnoldus marchionis. Almerus dux de ladare. Horinanus de hedenune. Berneda quae general hemereta dispensatrix. Osbergus filius elmeni. Flaxrodus. Winat preistes alfridus frater eius. Godheche parvus. Almarth kere. henricus de spina. Osbergus et papa aliis.

no fido. exinde decembri in regno sae thone ipi. Regis dectus boro Augustini caro
cera sunt. Contraq[ue] ipsa magna omni ipsius clara et homines de chancro sunt
omni placenti emula ut in diem sustinendi nullo modo debet deride. sed in
estate regia impellans oculum. qd ex regio mandato eide coniugiu[m] in
comitatu[m] assentibus ut s[ecundu]m p[ro]positu[m] aspectu leuis de cardis. supplementis
al[so] recognouerunt debet. id curia sae Augusti cant uenire quodens
q[ui] placatu[m] n[on]ne et modo ame fratre fecit hominem alcum nille. et regis
nisi clara. De rebibio in sua gracia dedit abbi et maneriu[m] ipsius
actionis testis sunt. lotus de cardis. luis de Shalminghede. et Daniel
et al. Willis de eschelford et thomus fr[ater] filio pessone et Ricard pol
leward. Willis filii nuggelli. Willi de Redinhale hugo pincerna. henricus de
fili et Willis de norfolk. sanos de denuncie. petr de bedeham
gate. Galfrid de eschelford. Radulf de fifeburne. Galfrid curthopple.
al de bringeling. humo fili willi filii uel. henricus de grammalla. lotus
al de stiria et ada fili et benedict de farburgh. samson de neulas
ente et lotus fili et Willis de wighelle Galfrid malabissa.
hui thome de esindene. Ricard de potame. henricus de shornes
tts de cuthorne. Adom de northbrocho. Regis tunc. Alano
franci. henricus de marisco. Ricard et Willstan de vilkebede.
et hum de blen. humo et hadred de stiria. syed de
tts et Galfrid de thelehege. helias de schutte. Magist[er] bedell
et oton. vado de lieucastre. Et or chancro. Monan miles.
odfrid cui hugo fili h[ab]uicidio strungel d[icitur] didemurture. Ad
filii. trichegan. Iordan de dumercine. Daniel d[icitur] aldilande. Wal
t. Odo d[icitur] alane et alane d[icitur] cluicende. Godbese destane et brit
w[ill] filii brithne. Walrus filii acheman. Godvra filii agnoldi.

"Therefore, on the appointed day both parties presented themselves at Canterbury before John of Cardiff, sitting for Robert Fitz Bernard, the Sheriff; the Thanet men, compelled by a sense of right, acknowledged that they ought to come to the Court of the Blessed Augustine whenever summoned, and therein to plead in any cause the Abbot might have against them, and abide by the judgment of the Court as the men of any other place; and admitted that the same had been proved against them in the time of Clarenbald, the former elected Abbot. But regarding their own rebellion they gave a pledge to the Abbot, in the form of his "maneia", or gift; and this in the hand of Radulphus, the Seneschall, in the presence of all the county.

"Of this transaction the following are witnesses."

Of the 123 names on this list many of course defy any attempt at identification; such as Nos. 14, 16, 39, etc., where only the Christian name and that of the father is given, without surname or designation; or as Nos. 66, 98, 99, etc., where the word "Clericus" and nothing more is added, without any clue to the *propria cura* held by him; or again, as in No. 75, with the occupation of Weaver, or in No. 88, with the office of Beadle. Of the others, too, there are very many in which the names of the places or manors have undergone such changes as to be past recognition.

The first name to be noticed occurs in the body of the Charter, that of "Robertus filius Bernardi, Vicecomes". This Robert Fitz Bernard, of Kingsdown, near Wrotham, had been Sheriff during part of preceding year, conjointly with the still more powerful Kentish magnate, Gervase de Cornhill, and was re-appointed to the office for the eight succeeding years. The Manor of Kingsdown had been conferred on the father of Bernard by Henry I,¹ and remained in the family till the 36th of Edward III (1362), when through failure of the male line it passed by the marriage of a daughter to the Badlesmere family.

The list of the "witnesses" themselves opens worthily with the name of this Johannes de Cardiff; and it would carry with it all the weight and dignity of royal sanction,

¹ Philipot's *Villare Cantianum*, p. 203.

for another Charter in the British Museum (Cotton Charters XI, 73)¹ tells us that he had the year before been appointed, in conjunction with Ricardus Giffard and Rogerus filius Reinfredi, "Justicia[rius] Regis", in which capacity he would, no doubt, be present at this trial.

Elias de Shillinghelde and his brother Daniel (2 and 3) come next : this family doubtless held the Manor of Shelving Hill, in the parish of Woodnesborough,² near Eastry. Adam de Cheringe and his son (4 and 5) were probably known a few years after by the surname of Brocton or Broughton, a manor in Charing, where, according to Philipot, Adam de Brocton lived in the reign of Edward I.

Of Gervase de Hospringe and his grandson Hervey (6 and 7) nothing appears on record. William de Essechesforde and his brother Thomas (8 and 9) may well claim a home at Ashford, formerly known as Eshetisford and Esheford, as lying on the river Eshet or Eshe. Here the wealthy family of Crioll or Keriell held possessions from very early times;³ and it is fair to conjecture that the distinctive name of the family was here, as in the case of others, lost in that of the manor, and that the above William and Thomas were really Criolls.

Of the next worthies, Fulco and Richard Peisforiere (10 and 11) or Paiforer, there is no need for conjecture.⁴ The family seat was originally at North Court, in Easeling, and they subsequently possessed Colbridge Castle, in Boughton Malherbe, and other manors. Two of the family, Fulco and William, were created Knights Banneret by Edward I at Caarlaverock, and the former

¹ The charter runs thus : " Hec est finalis concordia que facta fuit apud Oxoniā in curia Regis coram Ricardo Giffard & Rogero filio Reinfridi & Johanne de Caerdif Justitiis Regis (ad) proximum festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli postquam Dominus Rex cepit ligantiam Baronum Scocie apud (Eb)oracum inter Canonicos Osenie & Ingream & tres filias ejus scilicet Gundream & Isabell(am) & M(ar)garetam de terra de Oxeneford unde placitum fuerat inter eos in curia Regis : scilicet quod Ingrea & tres filie sue prenominate clamaverunt predictis canoniciis quietam terram illam in Oxeneford de se et de heredibus suis pro xx solidis quos canonici illis dederunt et omne jus quod in eadem terra habebant quietum illis clamaverunt." This date is given in Eyton's *Itinerary*, p. 193, as Aug. 10, A.D. 1175.

² *Villare Cantianum*, p. 367.

³ *Ib.*, p. 55.

⁴ *Ib.*, *passim*.

was Sheriff for the county in 1259, and again in the following year.

Hugo Pincerna (18), of originally a Bedfordshire family according to Philipot, would seem to have been the first member of it to find a home in Kent, where his son, Thomas Pincerna, settled himself at Barham Court, in Teston, in the reign of King John ; using for his seal¹ a covered cup, with the scroll "*Sigillum Thome Pincerne*", the inference is drawn that he was chief butler to the King, and that in allusion to that office his descendants took the name of *Le Boteler*, corrupted into Butler, with whom Planché, in his "*Corner of Kent*",² connects the name given to the Manor of Fleet in that parish, of Butler's Fleet.

Henricus de Insula (19), though taking the name from the Isle of Wight, is more closely connected with Sundridge, where the family lived for many generations, occupying an important position in the county, which only ended in the unfortunate complicity of Sir Henry in the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wiat.

Alanus de Rethling (20) was clearly a representative of an "illustrious family", as Philipot calls them, who for many generations held the Manor of Retling, or Rattling, in Nonington, from which they took their designation.

The manors of Shouldon (Shoveldune) (22 and 23), Denton (Denintune) near Eleham (25), Betshanger (Betleshangre) (26), and Capell Court, in Ivychurch, also had their representatives.

Robertus de Diua (or Diva) (29) owned a family estate in the parish of Estling. Ashford also supplied another witness in the person of Galfridus de Essechesford (31). Radulphus de Fishbourne (32) represented an ancient manor in Faversham. Henricus de Cramavilla (40), of a Gravesend family, and Johannes de Schamelsforde (41), of a manor in Chartham ; Willelmus de Lille Cheriche (42) (Little Chart ?), Heilgarus and Adam de Sturry (Stureia) (44 and 45), and a number of smaller *estatesmen* whom it is impossible to identify and follow in the list.

This array of mediocrities seems to be broken through by the name of Willelmus de Orlanston and his brother

¹ *Villare Cantianum*, p. 336.

² Planché's *Corner of Kent*, p. 56.

Simon (56 and 57), representing an important manor in Romney Marsh.¹ An ancestor of theirs had accompanied Richard I to the Holy Land, and was with him at the Battle of Acre, while a descendant, also called William, was a *Conservator Pacis* in the reign of Edward III and High Sheriff in the year 1328.

Henricus de Shornes (60), too, seems to represent an influential family, probably one of the Nevils, who at that time held this manor.

The list closes with 29 men of Thanet. At the head of these stands Adrianus Miles (94), who was probably one of the Crioll family who were then paramount lords of Thanet; while Ærnoldus Vicecomes (97) is said by Philipot² to have been Sheriff in the 22nd of Henry II, the same year in which Robert Fitz Bernard held that office, and in which this trial took place; but Kilburne does not include him in his list of Sheriffs, and Philipot himself adds, "of what family is not yet discovered".

In bringing this account to a close, it may be well to mention that Philipot says the original of this trial was in his time in the hands of his friend Le Neve, then Norroy Herald. None such is now to be found in the archives of the College of Arms. It is supposed to have disappeared in the general dispersion of his papers; and possibly this charter, for which we are indebted to Lord F. Campbell, is that missing original. The Records of the Canterbury Cathedral Chapter throw no light on this trial, nor contain any allusion to it, which is easily to be accounted for by the jealous rivalry which existed between Christ Church Priory and St. Augustine's Abbey.

¹ Furley's *Weald of Kent*, p. 717.

² *Villare Cantianum*, p. 19.



FONT AT ADDERLEY, SALOP.

NOTES ON THE FONT AND BRASSES IN
ADDERLEY CHURCH, SALOP.

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ.

(*Read 21 Nov. 1894.*)

ADDERLEY is situated in the extreme north-east corner of the county of Salop, just outside the boundary of this county with Cheshire. It has a station on the Great Western Railway, between Wellington and Crewe, and the church is within half a mile of the station. It is placed just outside the borders of Adderley Park, at the fork of two roads, and is one of those churches which has been much controlled by the mind and purse of the local squire ; that is to say, it has "progressed with the times", which means that the only evidence in the parish of continuous religious service throughout the ages has been "improved from the face of the earth", and in its stead has been substituted, in true Georgian fashion, a fabric square and smooth without, and within, whitewash and glare ; but happily two ancient memorial brasses and the font have escaped the hands of the destroyer. The font is the subject of this brief communication.

When the church was rebuilt it was turned out into the churchyard, but the present Rector, the Rev. A. Corbet, thought better of the primitive taste of seven or eight hundred years ago than the pressed pitcher-basin of to-day which had usurped its place, and he got the old font refixed as it is now to be seen, and as the accompanying sketches indicate.

On one sheet the plan, section, and four elevations are shown to a scale of one-eighth the real size,¹ and on another sheet a view (drawn by Mrs. Lynam) from the north-west, and on a third sheet a copy of the inscription. From these it will be seen that the bowl is rectangular in form, and takes something of the shape of a Norman cushion-capital, having on its lower edge a bold bead, and is supported by a shaft cylindrical in form, but not circular, its shape following the form of the bowl,

¹ Now reduced still further.

which at the top is 2 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. long by 2 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. The basin is sunk in the same form as the bowl, and suggests the purpose of immersion in the use of the rite of Holy Baptism. The whole font, including bowl and shaft, is of one stone. Whether there was any base originally is not apparent, the present step on which it stands being of recent date. As now fixed, the longer sides of the bowl run east and west; but whether this disposition is original is also open to question.

On the faces of the bowl, beginning on the east side, there is a margin, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. deep, which bears the following inscription,—

✠ HIC MALE PRIMUS HOMO FRUITUR CUM CONJUGE POMO,

which our Hon. Secretary, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, puts into English as "Here the first man with his spouse ill-enjoys the apple"; or, as he says, poetically,—

"This water, by its sacred power,
Turns Eve's sweet fruit and Adam's sour."

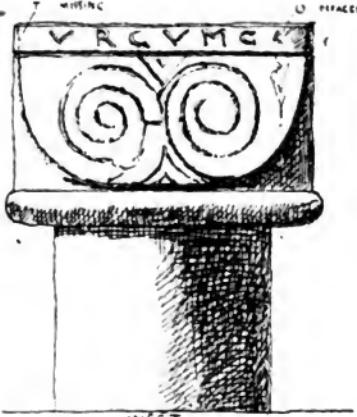
The Rev. Canon Browne puts it as "Here the first man evilly eats the apple with his wife". The letters have been tampered with more or less, and the present Rector inclines to the opinion that they are of much more recent date than the font itself; but in my view font and inscription are one both in sentiment and art. They have been subject to injury and wear and tear concurrently. The whole spirit of the work seems to be co-incident.

The present total height is 3 ft. 6 in., and the diameters of the shaft are respectively $22\frac{1}{2}$ in. and 20 in. The sunken spiral ornamentation on the east and west sides nearly correspond in form, but on the north side there is a raised cross with delicately carved spandrels filling the upper angles of the circular face. On the south side the face is filled with interlaced work as truly decorative as could be cut. The form and character of the work indicate the twelfth century as the period of its origin; but whether of the early or latter half is not, perhaps, so easy to determine.

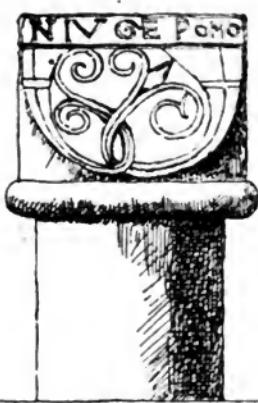
One of the brasses (not sent herewith) is to the memory of Sir Robert Nedeham, who with his wife and seven sons and two daughters are engraved; and the inscrip-



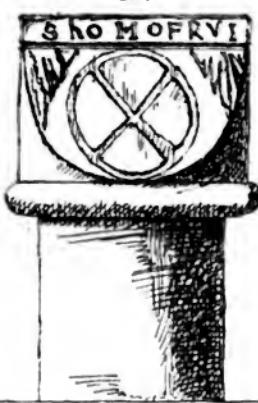
EAST



WEST

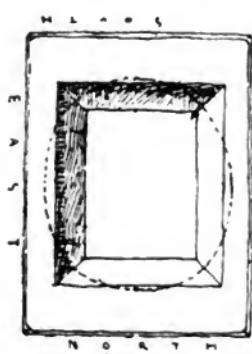


SOUTH

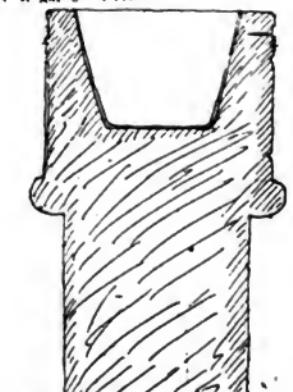


NORTH.

NOTE: INSCRIPTION BEGINS ON EAST SIDE AND FOLLOWS ON N.W. AND S. SIDES



PLAN OR TOP AND
M TRENCH SHAPES



SECTION
EAST TO WEST

ADDERLEY, SALOP.—Font Details.

tion gives the date of his death on the 14th day of June 1556, and that of his wife on the 2nd of May 1560.

The other brass (of which a rubbing is sent) is of an ecclesiastic vested for Mass, of beautiful workmanship, and represents either a bishop or a mitred abbot; but unfortunately it is headless, and has no inscription attached. It has peculiarities, in that the pastoral staff in the right hand is veiled, and in the left hand is an open book; and it is not quite clear that the stole is included as a vestment, though there are lines on the brass which may indicate the stole, but in an unusual manner.

The brasses are fixed in the floor, on the north side, just in front of the altar-rail.

NOTES ON SEPULCHRAL CROSSES AND
SLABS IN SHETLAND.

BY LADY PAGET.

(Read 21 Nov. 1894.)

THE illustrations which accompany this paper represent sepulchral crosses and slabs in Norwick (Plate 1) and Sandwick (Plate 2), Island of Unst, Shetland. The places where they rest are known as Viking churchyards.

In *Art Rambles in Shetland*, by John T. Reid (1869), the following remark is found about Norwick : "Having heard of several stone crosses in a churchyard at Norwick, I paid a visit to it one evening, 'tween the gloomin' an the mirk', and sitting in that lone churchyard I heard

'The moaning, murmuring waves,
Whose melancholy echoes wail
Beside the lonely graves.'

It was a wild spot, near the rock-bound Bay of Norwick. The crosses were almost buried among the weeds."

Reid has copied the largest of the Norwick crosses, and has drawn it with plenty of weeds round it. Norwick is on the north-east of Unst. There is no made road to it from Haroldswick. Reid does not take any notice of Sandwick, on the south-east of Unst. It is also stated in *The Orkneys and Shetland*, by John R. Tudor (1883), of "The Kirk of Norwick":—"That at present there is little, if anything, above the surface. Low said it was pretty entire, particularly the altar, which is cut asbestos. Every grave is marked with a cross at the head, the only remains (and that to them insignificant) of Popery to be found among them."

The foundations of the old kirk at Norwick can just be traced. The ground where the crosses lie seems to be raised, and is situated on the sea-cliff. During the last few years it has been fenced in, through the kind exertions of Rev. Mr. Smith, Minister of Baltasound, who found the sacred ground quite unprotected.

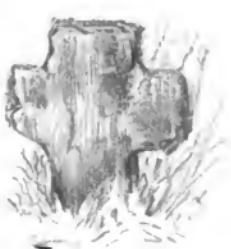


PLATE I



PLATE II

Mrs. Bradbury kindly copied the sketches made by me,
18 June 1894.

In *The Orkneys and Shetland*, by John R. Tudor (1883), under "Sandwick Churchyard", it is said, "Mr. Irvine saw some upright stones, nearly rectangular, with crosses incised on them, in this graveyard; and they may be there still, but when the writer was there the yard was waist-deep in weeds."

At Baltasound, where I was staying, in Unst, there is a stone placed to record that "Biot, the French *savant*, was hospitably entertained at Buness, by Mrs. Edmondston, in 1817, when engaged in determining the length of the second's pendulum; and in the following year Capt. Kater, who was also engaged on the same subject, succeeded him."¹

The burial-ground of Sandwick contains the ruins of the ancient kirk, situated on a low cliff by the sea. The interesting old rough-hewn stone crosses appear to consist of the same kind of stone as those in Norwick, but in both graveyards they have sunk very much. Probably the date of the crosses would be after A.D. 1016, for in the *Heimskringla Saga* it is recorded that Olaf Trygveson in that year inquired how Christianity was observed in the Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Islands, "and as far as he could learn, it was far from being as he could have wished."

Mrs. Bradbury kindly copied my sketches of these crosses, 25 June 1894.

¹ *Orkneys and Shetland*, by John R. Tudor. 1883.

THE CLASSICAL AND MEDIÆVAL USE OF
FORTIFICATION OF BRANCHES,
NOW KNOWN AS THE ZAREEBA.

BY MISS RUSSELL.

(Read 5 Dec. 1894.)

THE question whether the camp of Harold at the battle of Hastings had or had not a palisade is ever and anon revived. I do not know that it is of much consequence, for what caused the defeat was that the Saxon soldiers would not stay within their lines to be shot at, which was what they were bound to do, as, owing to circumstances, they were very much weaker than the Norman army, while at the same time they were much too strong for William to venture to march on towards London, leaving them behind him ; and what Harold in all probability intended him to do was to re-embark without a battle.

But the probability that camps in general were palisaded, up to the time of the great changes produced by the use of gunpowder, is of some interest, the more so that the way in which it was done seems to have been overlooked. Indeed, it was not at all in connection with the camps of the Middle Ages that I first noticed the apparent fact. It was a *name* which first drew my attention to it, in one of the Welsh poems published under the title of *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*. The one in question, unlike most of the others, abounds in proper names ; so much so that the *Mabinogion* and other mediæval Welsh legendary literature seem to have been partly furnished with names from it. That the real meanings had been totally forgotten is rather in favour of the historical theory of the poems ; that is, that many of them refer rather to Cumbria than to Wales.

Among other things in the poem in question, Cai, who is one of the most authentic of Arthur's champions, kills a warrior called, first, Palach, and afterwards, in some lines at the end (which look as if they had been added

from another copy of the poem), the Cath Palug; *Cath* meaning *battle* in Gaelic, and *Conon*, the mischief-maker, being called Cath Conon throughout one of the Ossianic tales given by Mr. Campbell. In fact, if Cath was the old form of *cateran*, warrior or robber (the latter in Lowland Scotch), it explains the Cat Stanes as warriors' graves. There are at least two stones of the name recorded.

Now the fight takes place "in the hall of Avarnach", presumably in a stronghold of some kind; and Fordun, to throw ridicule on the story of Athelstan having been miraculously enabled to pierce a rock near the Castle of Dunbar, as an omen of success in his invasion of Scotland farther north, says (in the Skene translation of his *Chronicle*), "In the 'Legend of the Miracles of St. John of Beverley', I have found the following passage, among others, about the aforesaid King Athelstan. King Athelstan, on his way to fight against the Scots, visited the blessed John of Beverley, upon whose altar he placed a dagger as his bail, promising that if he came back victorious he would redeem the dagger at an adequate price. And this promise he also fulfilled, for during his struggle with the Scots he asked God that through the prayers of St. John He would show him some evident sign whereby those in times present and to come might know that the Scots were rightfully subjugated by the English. Whereupon the King struck with his sword a certain boulder of stone near the Castle of Dunbar, and that stroke made in the rock a gash measuring an ell, as may be seen to this day.

"Such is the story there; but we have heard old hags tell some such fable, that it so happened that one of King Arthur's soldiers, Kay, had to fight with an enormous tom-cat, which, seeing the soldier prepared to fight with it obstinately, climbed to the top of a great rock, and coming down after having made its claws wondrous sharp for the fight, it gashed the rock with clefts and winding paths beyond belief. Kay, however, they say, killed the cat. But the cleft of Athelstan's rock is not had in remembrance or known by the people."

These legends of Fordun's (which are a very fair specimen of the controversy about the independence of Scot-

land) have a separate interest, so far that it appears likely from them that he, John de Fordun, of whose personal history we know absolutely nothing beyond the general probability that he was an ecclesiastic, was a native of Dunbar or the immediate neighbourhood. He does not say that the cat story happened at Dunbar, though he certainly implies it; and of course he did not want the English Arthur there any more than the English Athelstan. The latter's invasion of Scotland, north of Lothian, probably indicates a tradition of the possession of the north-east of Scotland by the Northumbrian kings, Oswy and Egfrid, which seems to have been a fact, whether or not it was owing (as I suppose) to Maelsneth, the first wife of the one, and presumably the mother of the other, having been one of the Pictish ladies through whom the royal succession was carried on. Egfrid must apparently have been too much of an Englishman by education for the Highlanders of the period, for the cousin who superseded, and eventually killed him, had the same half-Saxon pedigree. It may be added, Athelstan's relations with Sitric, the Danish King of Deira, and apparently of Northumbria, are the least creditable things we know about him.

To return to Fordun. The name, at least, of the Cat Craig remains on the sea-shore, about a mile and a half east of Dunbar, though the rock itself has been nearly quarried away for lime. It was the light of the Cat Craig lime-kiln which drew two small vessels of the royal navy to shipwreck on this coast, in 1810, it having been mistaken for that of one of the lighthouses.

As to the personal name, Palach, it is very like a Celtic version of Palladius; and accordingly an old dedication to that fifth century saint is indicated by the name of Kilpallet on one of the roads across Lammermoor, about ten miles inland from Dunbar. The name of Kilmad, in the neighbourhood, further indicates its having been superseded by a church of St. Aidan, Kil-Mo-Aed.

Now the nearest dwelling inland from the Cat Craig is called Barney Hill, there being no hill there whatever, except a low, circular mound in front of the house, which rather suggests the remains of an old earthwork. Barney does not resemble Avarnach to the eye, but it comes

very near to it in sound ; and I am inclined to think the latter name is merely a Welsh way of representing a Gaelic name and word still in use, for what I came upon in following up this half-historical legend of Cai and the Cat was this. On looking in McAlpine's Gaelic Dictionary to see if the old vernacular suggested any meaning for Barney, I found among the words from *bar* (top), that *barran* (or topping) means "any sort of coping on a fence,—thorns, flags, etc."; and considering that Bamborough Castle is said to have been originally fortified by a *hedge*, and that the old name of Quikheg (or Live Hedge) for some land belonging to Jedburgh Abbey, seems to show that hedges before 1150 were generally of dead branches, it seems probable that Barney Hill, without any natural strength, had been so constructed as to support a dense palisade of the branches of trees. There is a Barney Mains, with an old fort near it, in the same county, near Haddington.

As to some rather similar names in the neighbourhood, that of East Barns (immediately to the east of Barney Hill) evidently refers to the West Barns, which is now a suburb of Dunbar ; while Birney Knowes (that is, Knolls), a small hamlet some miles further to the east, though it may perfectly have had a stockade, may be named from *birns*, which means both the stalks of burnt heather and dry upland pasture.

It is a question of some interest in Scotland at this moment why hill-forts in Dumfriesshire and its neighbourhood should be called *birns*. The best known case is that of Birrenswork, which I believe has undoubtedly Roman remains. Though *birns* is singular, not plural, I should be inclined to think *barran* is one, or a principal, derivation, whether the coping was of branches or other material ; but there are some nine or ten words it may be connected with, including *burrian*, a form of *burg*, which occurs in Orkney.

Dunbar, whose castle and seaport were so important as long as ships remained of small size, has two forts on the Doon Hill ; but from the structure of the name it is quite likely it may be, as has been suggested, "the town of St. Barr, or Fimbar", one of Oswald's Irish saints, who was the patron of Eddleston, between Edinburgh and

Peebles. It should be noticed that Barney Hill stands on the field of the battle of Dunbar, to the east of Broxmouth, where Cromwell, I think, took up his quarters ; in fact, this is part of the regular road of invasion and retreat,—Arthur, Athelstan, the Edwards, Cromwell, all naturally took the same line.

As to the use of branches for fencing and fortification, corroborations occur in many places. The native earth-work forts of New Zealand, which were very like our own, were not only surrounded but divided by growing hedges, which it was extremely difficult to penetrate ; while, on the other hand, though people do not think of the meaning of it, the old phrase *quickset-hedge* implies that hedges were generally dead down to a period long after that of the Roxburghshire case given before. The son of a farmer in Kinross-shire, between the Forth and Tay, told me that their fail-dykes, or turf-walls, which were made across every spring, were merely sods supporting a line of branches ; in fact, the real fail-dyke, without branches, could never have answered after sheep-husbandry came in. I have only once seen this fence of turf and branches myself ; but that was in the Midland Counties of England. It was a temporary division in a field where there were sheep on turnips. In fact, this kind of fence would be both cheap and efficient where brushwood was the natural growth of the country.

I was both surprised and pleased to see the old hedge in use at Bamborough still,—a fence of cut hawthorn branches with the dead leaves hanging on them, simply stuck in the ground, round a large sand-hole in the links, to keep the sheep and lambs from falling into it.

Dr. Joseph Anderson says, in one of his well-known Lectures, that many of the Scotch earthworks look as if they must have been supplemented by palisades. In the case of the forts of loose stones, the palisade would have to be inside the rampart. But it is only of late years, I think, that it has become generally known that in Africa camps in dangerous places are fenced with the *zareeba*, a palisade of thorny bushes. And what is much stranger is that it does not seem to be recognised at all that the camps of the Romans were fortified with branches. The wise and practical Polybius, who belongs to the time of

the Roman conquest of Greece, and who is the great authority on the Roman discipline, could see nothing in that so much to be admired and imitated as the way in which the Roman soldiers cut, carried, and utilised the branches for fencing the camps. The Greeks, whose practice he describes as very inferior, would seem to have used young trees, which could not be carried very far; while the Romans selected branches of trees, from which the smaller branches seem to have been cleared away, except on one side. Three or four of these pales could be carried by one soldier (who slung his shield round his neck), and they could hardly be pulled out again when stuck in the ground and interlaced.

It has been remarked of the great camp at Ardoch, on the borders of the Highlands (which is singularly perfect), that it really has no large rampart; and though it must have been constructed centuries after the time of Polybius, and though one would have expected something more permanent in so large and important a work, I have no doubt the explanation is that it was a forest of branches (at least as regarded the ramparts), and that they were renewed or repaired every spring. Whether it has a principal or any share in the derivation of *birns* for a fort, I see the suggestion of *barran* (the coping or topping) added to the natural strength, recurs in what is, in one way, the most interesting case we have.

In the valuable paper by the Rev. J. King Hewison, in the *Proceedings of the Scotch Society of Antiquaries* for 1892-3, on the forts of the Island of Bute, it appears that that called the Barone Hill is said to have been the place of refuge of the people of the town of Rothesay. That there should be such a tradition at all throws much light on the whole subject of hill-forts. The number of villages and peel-towers, or larger houses, burnt on the Borders in any really serious war between England and Scotland is surprising; but there seems to have been nothing like a general slaughter of the inhabitants, who in many cases were probably on the hill-tops, in these old strongholds, many of which would be quite inaccessible to cavalry. It is the more likely that these wars only took place in summer, though I do not know of any tradition recording anything of the kind on the Borders.

NOTES.

In the case of the Barone Hill, the coping or topping is not likely ever to have been of branches, as the hill-top is surrounded by a dry stone wall. This has some appearances of vitrification; but I am inclined to think, in some at least of these doubtful cases of that process, that the effect may have been produced by wood-fires smouldering in their own ashes, for months or years, against a dry stone wall which consisted partly of fusible stones. Having to relight a fire was a serious thing down to quite recent times; and, as everybody who has crossed the Channel knows, there is no difficulty in keeping a wood-fire alight.

Besides Dunnagoil, there is a vitrified fort in a small island off Bute, with the remains of corner towers. But the most remarkable point about the hill-forts of Bute is their great number: almost every hill has one; though, indeed, this might be expected. The hill-forts of the Scotch mainland have generally great tracts of wild ground behind them, while these must have been the ultimate places of refuge, with the inexorable sea all round.

A somewhat analogous case to that of Barone Hill is that of the well-known stronghold of Sion, in Bohemia, which was either constructed, or more likely utilised, as late as the fifteenth century, by one or more of the sects who were under the ban of the government. There is an account of it in an article describing a tour in Bohemia, in *The Morning Post*, I think of some date in June 1892. The travellers, as often happens, had some difficulty in finding the object of interest, and when they passed a small and picturesque church, dedicated to St. Barbara, were doubtful whether that was not Sion itself. When found, it turned out to be a fine, large hill-fort in a very strong position, with ramparts of loose stones, and no traces of any more modern style of construction.

As to earthworks, and the necessity or probability of their being finished by palisades of some kind, I notice the expression of an observant writer (no specialist in the subject), Mr. Walter Besant, in the paragraphs which, under the title of "The Voice of the Flying Day", he contributes to one of the weekly journals. Under the date Aug. 25th, 1894, he says, describing a view, apparently over the British Channel,—"There is an old British fortress, a small thing, but still complete. Restore the stockade, and it would still be a difficult place to take.....Down in the bay, 200 ft. below, the waves are rolling in to the shore."

One of the illustrations in *The Daily Graphic* of Lord Randolph Churchill's African tour, was "Making the Zareeba". This was against wild beasts; and the material being knocked in with the back of the axe seems to be branching bushes which could not be conveniently carried. This represents, no doubt, just the old general practice, out of which the Romans developed their superior system.

A good deal the same may be said of the equipment of the African warrior, of which we have had many presents lately,—the two javelins, the shield on the left arm, the short kilt, and the feathers in the head-dress,—all sound much like what was worn by the Roman

soldier, though we know, from the many portraits we have of the stately legionary, that the effect was by no means the same.

The towns Cæsar saw or heard of in Britain were defended by what is called, in modern warfare, the *abattis*, or entanglement of felled trees. This, though it is only regarded in Europe as a possibility which may have to be resorted to at any time, is still to be seen in permanent use on the north-west frontier of India. All such fortifications must require frequent renewal, and are probably made of trees of no great size or weight as to stem.

Though the military conditions of both Gael and Cymri in post-Roman Britain (and Fordun's legend does look like a tradition of Arthur's partial conquest of Scotland) must have been much affected by Roman example,—and, indeed, Arthur himself is complimented on his Roman descent,—I do not imagine Britain before the Romans was very different from the Continent, where that was not directly affected by Italian civilisation.

People think of Pytheas of Marseilles rather as an early navigator who settled that Britain was an island by sailing round it; but the strange fact seems to be that he *walked* round it in the sixth century B.C., or some two hundred years before the time of Alexander. Strabo says he lied prodigiously about the distance, but I do not think he did more than might be expected. Taking Strabo's shortest *stadium*, which is certainly very different from his longest, and supposing that this notable pedestrian followed the coast pretty closely (as he must, indeed, have done to ascertain that neither Wales nor Scotland connected with Ireland or other land), his statement only about doubles the actual distance, and may have been made quite in good faith. There is, no doubt, nothing more wonderful in a traveller from Gaul being passed on from one tribe to another in the Eastern Counties, or in Scotland, than in a European travelling in Africa, till recent times. But what languages did he speak to them? Were they Gaelic and Breton? Or was Basque known to this Marseillais, and was it still spoken in Britain?

Of all the curious matter Strabo has preserved, perhaps none is so interesting now as his short notices of the Iberians. In his time (the first century A.D.) they were still to be found living near Gibraltar,—a people distinct from the Phœnician settlers; and considering the strange isolation of their language, the high antiquity they claimed for their institutions is of interest. They asserted that their metrical laws were six thousand years old.

It is quite possible we may not have lost much in Pytheas' account of the Britons, who were probably much like other people in the same stage of civilisation; but still he must have seen them from a very different point of view from the Romans; and it is quite possible they might be more civilised before the period of constant war with a superior power. In any case, a curious contrast to Pytheas' walking tour in Britain is the story in Constantinople, in the sixth century A.D., that the souls of the dead passed over into Britain from the Continent!

The main cause of this complete separation from other nations was the marauding of the Saxons, who, on the coast of France at least, used to crucify every tenth prisoner as a sacrifice to the god of the winds. There is no such person among the northern gods, so I suppose this

must have been the mighty Nipon, still the wind-spirit, or among the Germans, perhaps Number Nip.

Though I could not ascribe either the *abattis* or the *zareeba* to Roman influence, I have always thought (that is, since seeing it) that Stonehenge is a *mortarless* copy of a Roman circular building. It must, of course, from this point of view, be older than the Roman conquest of Britain; but as I see it mentioned lately, with reference to the discovery of the foundations of a building of the kind at Silchester, that there were at least three Roman buildings in Gaul, formed of two concentric circles, it seems rather likely it may have been copied from them after the Roman conquest of Gaul, much about the time Strabo was writing. The French localities are Périgueux, Joublains, and Beaumont-le-Roger. They are supposed to be temples, whether on any evidence or not. The bones of stags, found with those of oxen at Stonehenge, rather indicate a place of meeting.

The Silchester foundations are 65 feet across; and Stonehenge, after all that has been said and written about it, is only 100 ft. across, or 33 paces.

Beginning of the third Extract from the 17th Book of the General History of Polybius. Hampton's Translation, 4th Ed., 1809.

"Flamininius had not yet been able to discover in what place the Macedonians were encamped; but being assured that they had entered Thessaly he ordered all his soldiers to cut piles for the entrenchment, and to carry them with them, that they might be ready for use whenever occasion should require. This is a labour which in the discipline of the Grecian armies is considered as impracticable, but the Romans perform it without much difficulty; for the Greeks in their marches scarcely can support the toil of carrying their own bodies; but the Romans, when they have slung their shields by the leathern braces behind their shoulders, take their javelins in their hands, and are able at the same time to carry the pales.

"What renders the task, indeed, the easier is that these pales are very different from those that are used by Greeks; for the Greeks esteem those to be the best which have many and very large branches all around the trunk; but the Romans choose those that have only two or three branches, or four at the most; and those also on one side of the trunk, and not springing alternately from both. By this method the carriage of them is rendered altogether easy, for three or four of them may be laid close together, and be carried by a single soldier. In this way also they are much better contrived than the other for the security of the camp.

"The pales used by the Greeks are easily torn out of the ground, for as they are planted singly, and each of them standing as it were alone, with many great branches spreading from the trunk, if two or three soldiers apply their strength to the branches, the

trunk is soon drawn from the ground, and leaves a very spacious opening, and the adjoining pales also are at the same time loosened, because thick branches are too short to be interwoven each with the other.

"But it is otherwise in the method of the Romans. Among them the branches are so twisted together that it is not easy to distinguish what branches belong to the stems in the several pales, or what stems to the branches. Add to this, that the texture of them is so close as to allow no room for a hand to pass, and that the points also of all the branches are very carefully sharpened. And even when it is possible to lay hold on any part, it is still extremely difficult to draw out any of the pales, not only because they are very firmly fixed in the ground, but because the force also which is applied to any single branch must at the same time draw along many other branches which are inseparably twisted with it. Nor is it scarcely ever practicable for two or three men to lay hold on the same pale together; and if a single pale, or if two, by the efforts of continual shaking, should at last be removed from their place, the opening that is made is so small that it is scarcely to be discerned. As these pales, then, have in three respects, a very great advantage over the others,—in being found almost in any place, in being carried with ease, and in forming, when they are used, a rampart the most stable and secure, it is manifest, at least in my judgment, that there is not any part of the Roman discipline which so well deserves to be approved and imitated."

I find it is doubted whether the Roman altars, etc., said to come from Birrenswark really were found there; but, if I remember right, they are engraved by Alexander Gordon as far back as 1727.

THE FLEUR-DE-LIS OF THE ANCIENT FRENCH MONARCHY.¹

BY J. TH. DE RAADT, OF BRUSSELS.

(Read 5th Dec. 1894.)

Few archæological questions have been the object of so many studies as that of the fleur-de-lis of the ancient French monarchy. Illustrious men of learning did not object to bring to bear upon this subject their high sagacity. Amongst modern authors who have occupied themselves with it ranks foremost M. Adalbert de Beaumont, whose *Recherches sur l'origine du blason et en particulier de la fleur de lys* seemed for a moment to terminate the debate victoriously. It was reserved to M. van Malderghem to remove the mist from the truth of the origin and symbolism of this mysterious flower.

Without spending time in recurring to often-refuted opinions, the author of this paper limits himself to exposing in a summary way the diverse interpretations brought forward, and passes on to a critical examination of the book of M. de Beaumont, who, in order to explain finally how the flower, considered as the emblem of sovereignty, had passed on from the sceptres of Oriental kings to those of the kings of France, strives, with a zeal worthy of a better fate, to collect from amongst the nations of antiquity all devices that might approach, in shape, to this flower.

The filiation established by M. de Beaumont does not rest on a very solid basis. It is, after all, Arabian art which serves him as a link to attach the famous emblem to Egyptian art; but the Egyptian flower—the real name of which he persistently denies—is nothing else but the lotus, the figurative emblem of fertility and of richness, the sacred flower *par excellence*; whilst the dominating

¹ *Les Fleurs de lis de l'ancienne monarchie Française, leur origine, leur nature, leur symbolisme.* Par Jean van Malderghem, archiviste adjoint de la ville de Bruxelles. Translated into English by Baron Adhémar de Linden.

motive of the arabesque, also affecting, like the Egyptian lotus, the shape of the fleur-de-lis, evokes no symbolical idea, and is at most the purely material representation of the flower such as nature has made it, but subjected, as everywhere else, to conventional forms of ornamentation. In fact, being by its nature essentially sensual, and having for its aim a dazzling of the eyes by the richness of its capricious outlines, Arabian art never had the least affinity with the antique art of Egypt, the characteristic of which is the most absolute and expressive symbolism. The sally of Voltaire : " La fleur-de-lis est le résultat d'une fantaisie de peintre ", was necessarily bound to strike the mind of his numerous admirers. It has also inspired more than one of those who see in this flower nothing but a decorative motive, a *biblot hérédique*, an absolutely artificial figure, which, like the *Grand dictionnaire universel* of Pierre Larousse (the vehicle of all recent scientific assertions), fails in all resemblance to the lily of our gardens.

Reversing all ancient theories and anticipating all objections, M. van Malderghem establishes in an irrefutable way that this ornament quite represented a flower, and that this flower was neither the iris, the flambe, nor the corn-flag, as so many believed, but incontestably the white lily of the garden.

Before Louis le Jeune (1137-80), under whose reign armorial bearings took their birth, and who, since the first year of his reign, had stamped on his coinage the much-contested fleur-de-lis, the kings of France and of England, just as the kings and emperors of Germany, had already caused themselves to be represented on their seals with the insignia of sovereignty. It is a Carlovingian king, Lothair, son of Louis d'Outremer, who in 972 opens the French series with the crown and the sceptre, the latter having at its extremity a flower with three leaves. In Germany, the examples which show the seals of the emperors and of the kings are more ancient still ; for those of the remote period of Otto I (936-973) show to us, either the diadem, or the sceptre with the flower.

A long series of arguments could be drawn up to prove that, before the adoption of coats-of-arms, and even before the first Crusade (1096), this heraldic flower had also

been waving on the sceptre and the crown of other princes of Christianity. For the epoch previous to the creation of the royal type in sigillography, the author is forced to have recourse to works of art, i.e., tombstones, statues, and miniatures specially dedicated to the glorification of kings, for that which seals and coins cannot supply him.

Notwithstanding that M. Willemin asserts that the sepulchral effigies of the ancient kings of France have been conscientiously restored after the original monuments, it is permissible to have doubts as to the details. According to the testimony of Montfaucon, the tombs of the Carlovingian kings, such as existed still in his time, were not of such a style as to distinguish the sculptures of the eighth and of the tenth century. The same observation applies to the Merovingian period, with the exception of two tombs which were restored in the eleventh century. None of the tombs in Saint-Denis date, according to the assertion of Baron de Guilhermy, previous to the thirteenth century; and one is ignorant as to the system of decoration of those erected at Saint-Denis to the kings who had reigned previous to that epoch.

As the precious mine of the royal tombs cannot assist him, M. van Malderghem consults the still extant miniature MSS. of the Carlovingian times, in the hope that they may throw some light on the question. The first of the two most remarkable collections is the famous Psalter of Charles-le-Chauve, executed for this Prince by Liuthard between A.D. 842 and 869, and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It contains a magnificent miniature, often reproduced in engravings, and which represents this monarch with all the insignia of power. The sceptre terminates in a flower with three petals, of which the one in the middle is of remarkable form. The second MS., entitled *Ademari chronicon*, dating also from the ninth century, includes a coloured drawing representing Louis-le-Pieux, the father of Charles-le-Chauve, sitting between two personages in the interior of his palace, the front of which is decorated with the same flower.

It is to M. Willemin, the author of the *Monuments Français inédits*, that the honour falls to have been the



CHARLES-LE-CHAUVE.

From the Psalter of this Emperor in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

first to find out, that this flower of the sceptre of Charles-le-Chauve, in which Montfaucon thought to recognise a sword, well represents the fleur-de-lis. An unimpeachable testimony, that of a contemporary writer of the two Emperors, who has lived at their court, will confirm this view. The poet Sedulius, of Liège, in his charming poetry entitled *De Rosæ Liliique Certamine*, confronts the rose and the lily disputing with each other the sovereignty of the flowers. Spring, awakened by the noise of the dispute, intervenes, and tries to appease the two rivals: "Dear children", he said, "why this quarrel? You are, you must know, both born from the same soil. How can sisters arouse arrogant disputes? O beautiful rose, quiet yourself, your glory shines on the world; but let the royal lilies reign from the height of the flashing sceptres ('Regia sed nitidis dominantur lilia sceptris').....May the rose be in our gardens the emblem of bashfulness. You, brilliant lily, grow similar in splendour to the visage of Phœbus.....You are, O lily, the ornament of the retinue of long-veiled virgins."

Seals teach us that besides the kings of France, the monarchs of Germany and of England adorned their sceptres with the fleur-de-lis. At the time of the introduction of armorial bearings, the kings of France, the better to mark out their pre-eminence over other kings of the earth, transferred to their escutcheon this flower, which the whole western world recognised as the emblem of sovereign power.

If, on the other side, in Christian iconography, where it represents virginity, this emblem shines in the hand and on the forehead of the purest of virgins, and if it appears to us on the sceptre of the angel Gabriel at the moment when he is announcing to Mary that, by an act of divine grace, she will become the mother of the Saviour of the world, we see it also flourish in the hands of the souzeraine ladies, not as M. van Malderghem spiritually said, to mark out a state which has given place in turn to that of marriage, but to affirm their authority and dominant power. Thus, not only queens and great vassals, but even abbesses in some cases, with haughty pretensions (as, for example, amongst others, those of Quedlinburg), qualified as princesses of the Empire, and who, on

a par with sovereigns, used in their title the proud formula *Dei Gratia*, represented themselves on their seals as holding a fleur-de-lis in the hand.

It has not been possible for us to allude here to all the arguments accumulated by M. van Malderghem in support of his thesis, and, although the charm which we have experienced in the perusal of his fine work has taken us beyond the space of an ordinary notice, we have given, perhaps, in the opinion of more than one of our readers, too brief a sketch of this remarkable and sensational study, which has the merit of definitively solving, in some thirty pages, the most captivating question which an archaeologist was ever called on to deal with, and on which so many eminent men have expended their researches in vain. In sum, the memoir establishes:—

1. That the fleur-de-lis, considered heraldically, is of occidental and not of oriental origin, and that its use as an ornament of the sceptre goes back at least to the ninth century.

2. That this flower, contrary to generally admitted opinion, incontestably represents the white lily of the gardens.

3. That it symbolises on the occidental sceptres the royal power in general.

4. That it united in the armorial bearings of the ancient French monarchy the idea of sovereign power to that of the particular supremacy which the kings of France enjoyed since the reign of Louis-le-Jeune.

The work of M. van Malderghem is enriched with two plates: the one represents the god "Nile" (after Champollion the Younger), bearing on its head five lotus-flowers, emerging from a coiffure which symbolises the water of the Nile. The second plate shows Charles-le-Chauve as depicted in the miniature of the Psalter in Paris.

The reproduction of the counter-seal of Robert, Archbishop of Reims (1304), represents the mystery of the Annunciation, where the lily which springs up from the vase placed between the Virgin Mary and the celestial messenger is identical with that one which adorns the royal sceptres; that is to say, an heraldic lily.

The author proves by the bibliography given at the end of his study, comprising no less than ninety-six

works, that he has spared no pains to make himself acquainted with all the information useful to his subject; and apparently not fearing the critic of his work, conscientiously even mentions the authors who are opposed to his views. The *brochure* of M. van Malderghem will not fail to make a great impression in the scientific world, not only in Belgium, but also in foreign countries.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 21ST NOVEMBER 1894.

REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associate was duly elected:—F. J. Horniman, Esq.,
The Museum, Forest Hill.

The following Hon. Correspondent was duly elected:—R. Quick,
Esq., Forest Hill.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective
donors of the following presents to the library:—

- To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," session 1893-4; and "Archæologia", vol. liv, pt. 1.*
- " " for "Scientific Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society", October 1892, April and September 1893, vols. iv, v.
- " " for "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland", vol. iv, pts. 2, 3.
- " " for "Journal of the Society of Arts", 1893-4.
- " " for "List of the Members of the Institution of Civil Engineers", 2nd June 1894.
- " " for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xxviii, pt. 3, vol. xxix, pt. 1.
- " " for "Proceedings of the Sussex Archæological Society", vol. xxxix.
- " " for "Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1892".
- " " for "Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology", by J. W. Powell, Director of the Smithsonian Institution; large 4to.
- " " for "The Maya Year", by Cyrus Thomas; "Bibliography of the Wakashan Languages", by J. C. Pilling; and "The Pamunkey Indians and Virginia", by J. G. Pollard.
- " " for "The Smithsonian Report for 1892".
- " " for "The American Historical Register", 1894.

- To the Society, for "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles", tome VIIIIME, livr. iii, iv, July and October 1894.
- " " for "Notts and Derbyshire Notes and Queries", vol. ii, No. 1.
- " " for "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society", vol. xiii, pt. 1.
- " " for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society", 1892-3, vol. xviii, pt. 1.
- " " for "Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society", vol. xxxv, 1894; and "List of Members", 16th May 1894.
- " " for "Archæologia Cambrensis", fifth series, Nos. 43, 44.
- To the Author, for "A Short Guide to the Larmer Grounds, Rushmore, King John's House, and the Museum at Farnham, Dorset", by Lieut.-General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., F.S.A.
- " " for "Genealogical Records of the O'Maddens of Hymany", by T. M. Madden, Dublin, 1894.
- To the Editor, for "The Illustrated Archæologist", vol. ii, No. 6, 1894.

It was announced that the Council had with much regret accepted the resignation by Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., of the office of Honorary Treasurer, on account of ill-health, which renders it imperative on him to withdraw from active work in the Association.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited, on the part of Dr. A. Fryer, an ancient engraved stone found at Tyre. This stone is the property of Miss Gertrude A. Fryer, and it was brought from the East in the year 1870 by the late Alfred Fryer. It bears an unknown symbol, and was found in the ruins of Tyre.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a drawing of a mediæval *Tig*, or many-handled drinking-cup, and read the following note by Alderman John Symons, of Hull :—

"Recently, in passing down Whitefriargate, Mr. Archibald Johnston, linendraper, whose business premises are in Trinity House Yard, drew my attention to some broken pieces of brown glazed earthenware, and pointed out that they had just been dug up in the yard, which some navvies were then excavating for drainage purposes. These antique fragments Mr. Johnston kindly presented to me. They had undoubtedly formed a perfect jug, but the pick had smashed it in pieces. I had them pieced together, but found that it unfortunately lacked some portions. On close examination I came to the conclusion that it contained some smack of age; some relish of the saltiness of time. Our artist, Mr. Smith, took a sketch of the relic and copies were forwarded to some antiquaries.

"The vase is 5½ in. in height, 4 in. in breadth at the mouth, by 3½

at the base. It has six small perfect and four imperfect handles. I remembered that I had seen something like it in the Albion-street Museum, labelled 'A loving cup'. This was found on the historical site of the Suffolk Palace, Lowgate, erected by Sir Michael de la Pole, opposite St. Mary's Church. Strange to relate, the old curiosity given by Mr. Johnston was dug up on the site of the Whitefriars' Monastery, founded by Edward I. This monastery extended along the south side of Whitefriargate from Trinity House-lane, but in 1535 it was suppressed, and Henry VIII granted to John Heneage the site and buildings, with the orchards and gardens attached. In the same year Mr. Heneage sold the property to John Thurcrosse, Esq., and in 1621 Alderman Ferries purchased and gave it to the Hull Trinity House. In an ancient MS. in my possession, dated 1647, the writer gives a description of articles dug up during the demolition of the establishment. 'Among these', the writer says, 'was a shallow bowl of red ware, which doubtless had been used for the purpose of taking wine out of; also drinking cups.' I have nothing more to add than that this rude piece of ancient pottery may in former days have been used for some peculiar custom. Such relics are invested with great interest, and are most precious because they remind us not simply of the hallowed structure of the Carmelite monks once in our midst, which savours of the time of yore; but also of other men than we, other manners and customs than ours."

Mr. Brock read the following :—

INTERESTING DISCOVERIES NEAR CARDIFF.

BY DR. ALFRED C. FRYER.

"During the explorations of the Roman villa on Ely Racecourse, near Cardiff, it has been found that the Romans had constructed a small foundry hearth there, and had smelted iron with coal derived from the outcrop of the Welsh coalfield. The Welsh iron ore which was found lying about may have been brought, Mr. John Storrie conjectures, from the now disused Wenvoe Mine, which is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant as the crow flies, and also from Rhubina, which is about 6 miles off. Beside these some manganese ore (black oxide) has been discovered. Mr. John Storrie, in a letter sent to the *Western Mail* on August 23rd, says :—'The manganese ore contains only a very small proportion of iron—so little, indeed, that it would be quite useless to use it to obtain iron from. Its appearance, however, led me to think that it was not a native ore, and, having submitted it to Mr. Frank Johnson, F.G.S., he confirms this, and says that it is almost certainly Spanish ore, and further says that if a piece of the Ely find was dropped on a heap of Spanish man-

ganese ore a mining expert could not distinguish between them. Here, then, we have a case of ore imported for some other purpose than iron-making. An inspection of the glass made at Ely shows that it was not discoloured by manganese, and the only other suggestion I can make is—Did the Romans get ahead of Bessemer and employ manganese in making steel?

"No doubt the Romans had some method of hardening their iron, and this find of manganese ore may help to throw some light upon the subject. Mr. Storrie promises that the find shall be examined by such as have a special knowledge of iron and steel making and can make a complete detailed examination. We shall look for such a report with considerable interest."

Mr. Birch read some "Notes on Sepulchral Crosses and Slabs in Shetland", by Lady Paget, of Cambridge, and exhibited two plates of drawings, see above, pp. 306, 307.

Mr. Birch also read some "Notes on the Font and Brasses in Adderley Church, Salop", by C. Lynam, Esq., and exhibited a series of drawings and a rubbing which Mr. Lynam sent for the illustration of his paper, which will be found printed at pp. 303-305.

The Chairman read a paper entitled "An Ancient Record concerning St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury", which will be found printed above at pp. 295-302.

Mr. Barrett read a paper on "Cashel, Holy Cross, and Hoar Abbey", and exhibited a large series of drawings connected with the subject of the paper, which it is hoped will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

Mr. Birch exhibited a photograph and rubbings of an ancient oaken chest sent by Mrs. Metcalfe, of Instow, North Devon. It is chiefly cedar wood. It was bought by her husband, the late C. T. Metcalfe, C.S.I., with Buckshaw House, Sherborne, Dorset, in 1892, and tradition says that it is the veritable "Mistletoe Bough" Chest, which is known to have been traced to the Blackmore Vale. The carving inside the lid is said to be unique. The chest is now at Sherborne Castle (Mr. J. K. D. Wingfield Digby's), where it can be seen at any time.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a collection of bone pins and fibulae, a small urn or food-vessel, and a small anchor or grappling-iron, all of the Roman period, found about 14 ft. from the surface in the White Hart Yard, High Street, Southwark; a thrift box from Basinghall Street; a pair of bone-tube hinges for a door of Roman date found during excavation in Leadenhall Street; a spiral candlestick in wrought iron, 17th century; also a small pocket pistol, which Mr. A. S. Cuming thinks was used for the discharging of needles.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH DECEMBER 1894.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Arthur S. Flower, Esq., 7, Gordon Place, W.C., was duly elected a member of the Association.

R. H. Macdonald, Portlaoise, Ireland, was elected a Honorary Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library:—

To the Society, for the "Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1893".

" " for "Smithsonian Report" for the year ending 30th June 1891, and for the year ending 30th June 1892.

" " for "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects," November 1893, October 1894.

" " for "Proceedings of the Warwickshire Naturalists' and Archaeologists' Field Club, 37th Annual Report 1892, and 38th Annual Report 1893".

To the Author, for "Ueber Pseudo-Cnutes Constitutiones de Foresta", by F. Liebermann; and "The Text of Henry I's Coronation Charter", by the same, 1894.

To the Editors, for "Byegone Surrey", 1894.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a further selection from his collection of Jettons, and promised a notice of them all in detail, at a future time, for the *Journal*.

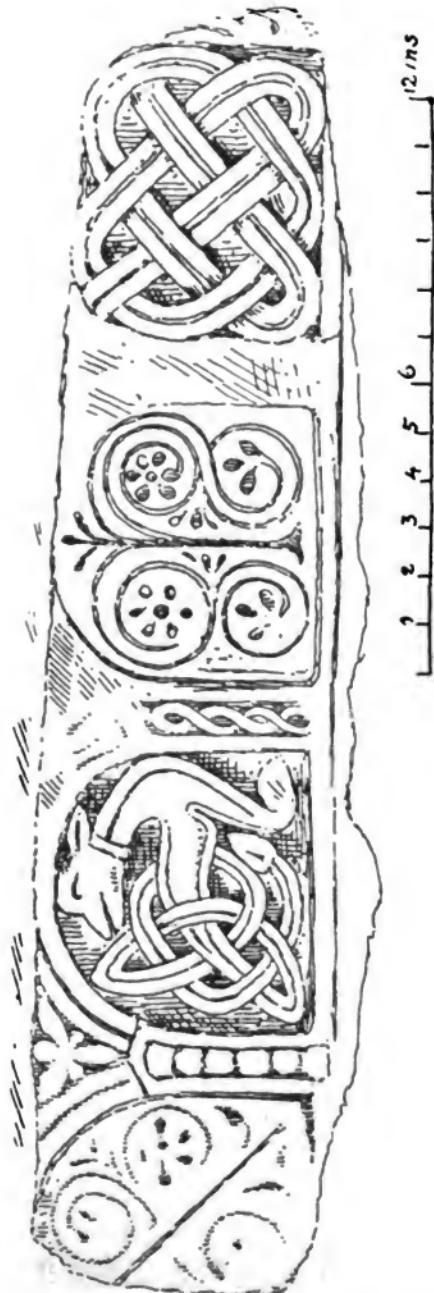
Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited on behalf of Mr. J. T. Irvine, three sketches and a tracing with the following descriptive note:—

(1) So much of a stone as now is uncovered with plaster, used up in the inside of west end wall of the south aisle of Rothwell Church, near Leeds. (*See plate opposite.*)

Another of like size and depth, but with more richly-carved foliage (perhaps the other side of the same monument), occupies a place in the west end of this aisle's wall, so close to ground and blocked by modern bench-ends and hot-water pipes as almost to defeat any attempt to sketch it.

(2) A tracing, full size, of a chalice incised on the tomb slab of a priest now on the floor of same aisle.

(3 and 4) Sketches of two of the Ilkley crosses—one from the church-yard, another from museum there. My disappointment was considerable on discovering that *all* these Ilkley crosses (with the doubtful exception of a broken slab) were not earlier than the Norman return to inter-



SCULPTURED SLAB IN ROTHWELL CHURCH, LEEDS.

lacing work after 1100; as were also those more interesting fragments at Rothwell—valuable from showing how here in the north, *at least was retained* to a late period what may be well described as the true spirit of that old style of Saxon design seen in those alternate panels of interlacing work *in relief*. The change also in the animals well marks the true period.

The incised ornament in the others had the depths of the section slightly over about one-third of that of a moderately small pencil. Several interesting headstones are preserved inside the west end of Rothwell Church of early or mediæval times; they are said to have been found when the south arcade (described as being formed of Norman pillars with a later wall over them) was removed and replaced by a "modern decorated" one—a copy of that on the north side nave.

Mr. J. Park Harrison, M.A., exhibited a drawing of a head used as a corbel in the south triforium of Salisbury Cathedral, perhaps originally brought from old Sarum.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Miss Russell, entitled, "The Classical and Mediæval Use of Fortification of Branches", which has been printed above at pp. 308-317.

Mr. Birch also read a paper entitled, "The Fleur-de-Lis of the Ancient French Monarchy", by Mr. J. T. de Raadt, kindly brought before the Association by Baron de Linden. This also has been printed above at pp. 318, 323.

Rev. W. Gould, of Loughton, exhibited a drawing of Greenstead Church, Essex, the well-known wooden church; *à propos* of the paper by Miss Russell. It was originally published by the Society of Antiquaries.

Rev. G. B. Lewis, of Broadstone, Wimborne, forwarded photograph of a compounded font at Toller, with the following notice:—

AMALGAMATED FONTS AT TOLLER PORCORUM (GREAT TOLLER), DORSET.

BY REV. G. B. LEWIS, M.A.

"I now send a photograph of the font at Toller Porcorum. I anxiously desire the opinion of the members on it.

"i. As to the object itself. It is, in fact, two second-hand Fonts, forming together a third, which is now in active use.

"ii. The upper part, about which there is no doubt and nothing interesting, is a late Tudor bowl, with part of shaft remaining. It is octagonal, of red sandstone, has no water drain, and is really too shallow for proper immersion of an infant. It stands with its shaft loosely resting in the bowl of the under font, in which some mortar had been used roughly for a bed. This is all that need be said of it.

"III. The under font possibly may be considered of very great antiquity, and, if so, of very great interest. It is of white stone (the mason calls it Portland). The shaft is circular, but the top is square,—or rather is an unequal octagon, the four main sides being cut off at the four corners, thus four main sides are 12 in. each and the four cut off sides 6 in. each. It stands 27 in. high. It has a bowl of full size with a water drain in centre.



"The external square of the head runs off, as in the plate, into scrolls, springing each from central shaft in relief on each face,—except at one corner where the scroll ripens off into a sheep's head.

"One of the four sides has been defaced (as is the case in the fourth side of the Tudor bowl also). On each of the other four sides, in the space above, where the volute branches off from the stem, is a curious three-cornered device worked in relief on each of the faces. In one it is simply an obtuse-angled triangular space in relief. In another it has a figuration which is seen on the illustration. On the third side, in the

corresponding space, is an *emblem* utterly unknown to me. It is rather like a stumpy three-branched candlestick. Probably in this detail will be found the key to the origin and use of this under part of the amalgamated fonts.

"iv. What is this under-font? One architect has said it is Norman; another that it is early English:—these two suggestions tend to destroy each other's value.

"I venture to ask, with some modest confidence, if it is not Roman. The sheep's head is very suggestive of the horn of an altar. The height of the stone, 27 in.—just above the man's knee—is about the height of the altars figured in Smith's Dictionary under 'Ara' and (*notably*) 'Centurio'. Or, it may be a Cippus. Anyhow, if it be either of these, it is highly interesting to find it now pressed into use for a Christian office.

"v. There is yet one more idea. Was it possibly a *Roman Christian* utensil made and used before the Romans left Britain? The sheep's head, so calm, is both Christian-like and Roman-like, and the (to me as yet unintelligible) emblem on one face—Y—is a sort of dream of the Christian emblem of hope, an anchor,—which is figured in a book on the Catacombs.

"The opinions of your expert members will no doubt be clear and decisive. I fear not encouraging to my Roman dreams, though I wish it may be so."

Antiquarian Intelligence.

What mean these Stones? By C. MACLAGAN. (Edinburgh : D. Douglas.)—This is an illustrated treatise on some of the Brochs and kindred buildings in Scotland, including the Standing Stones of Auquhorthies, Inverurie ; the Dyce Circle, co. Aberdeen ; the Maeshowe ; Entrance to Tappoch Broch ; Coldach Broch, Carloway Broch, and Dunvegan, Colonsay. The authoress rejects the Druidical theory as unable to account for many of the peculiarities which she takes notice of, and inclines to the idea that Brochs represent defensive buildings, “for the whole class seem to have numerous circumvallating walls at various distances ; and these very stray ones, as we see at the Tappoch, Stirlingshire, where, at 30 ft. distant, are found the remains of a circumvallating wall, 16 ft. in breadth, and still 10 ft. in height ; and, again, at 30 ft. outside that there stand remains of another one 10 ft. broad, and about the same in height.” The work is a valuable contribution towards the elucidation of an obscure and much-vexed question of which we have not yet heard the last word.

The Early History of the Town and Port of Hedon in the East Riding of the County of York. By J. R. BOYLE, F.S.A.—Few towns in England have had a more remarkable history than the town of Hedon. Founded soon after the Norman conquest, by the early lords of Holderness, its wealth and resources developed with marvellous rapidity, and in the twelfth century it was far the most important port on the north side of the Humber. Its prosperity, however, was short-lived, for at the commencement of the thirteenth century it had begun to decline, and the process of decay may be said to have gone steadily on almost down to the present time. Hedon is apparently now merely a quiet and quaint country village, although it possesses many relics of its former importance. Its one existing church ranks amongst the finest ecclesiastical structures in East Yorkshire, and south and east of the town the foundations of its two destroyed churches can still be traced. The banks of two long artificial havens, rendered necessary by the extensive maritime commerce which in the twelfth century the town enjoyed, are yet perfectly distinct.

Hedon is still governed by Mayor and Aldermen, and amongst the Corporation insignia is a mace which is believed to date from the time of Henry V, and to be the oldest civic mace in England. The town possesses a series of records of considerable interest, and to these

the writer has had access. It is worthy of note that amongst these records are churchwardens' accounts for each of the three churches, dating from the reign of Edward III. It ought also to be stated that important documents relating to Hedon, in H.M. Public Record Office, have been consulted. A selection of records of the Corporation of Hedon, and from the Record Office, has been printed. The churchwardens' accounts may be confidently described as the most interesting series of such records which has been printed since the appearance of Nicholls' *Illustrations of Manners and Expenses* (1795). The volume, indeed, will be a not inconsiderable contribution to the history of the great county of York. It contains also a glossary of the mediæval Latin and obsolete English words which occur in the documents, and an index of the fullest possible character.

The book is to be well printed, extensively illustrated, and tastefully bound. Subscribers to the edition in 8vo. at 15s., or in quarto at 30s., should write to the publishers, Messrs. Brown and Sons, 26, 27, and 29 Savile Street, Hull.

Child-Marriages, Divorces, etc., in the Diocese of Chester, A.D. 1561-1566; and Entries from the Mayors' Books, Chester, 1558-1600. By F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A. (Early English Text Society, 1897.) The Early English Text Society has taken time by the forelock in the issue of this volume three years in advance of its subscription date; but the subject which the book deals with will be of interest for all time, not only for the actual record of sixteenth-century manners and customs which form the body of the work, but for the erudite "Forewords" written in the usual and characteristic manner by Dr. Furnivall. We are all accustomed to look upon England under Elizabeth as an enlightened and pattern empire governed by a wise Queen, a sage counsellor, and laws founded on common sense and propriety; but what a picture of social obliquity is revealed by even a cursory glance through these pages!

The horrors which now are, or till very lately were, practised in India and other far-away appanages of Great Britain, and believed to be a legacy of pagandom, were actually done in our midst only ten generations ago. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1670 married a boy of seven or eight years old to a girl about twelve years old, and in 1673 the same marriage was re-enacted. In 1289, Maurice, third Lord Berkeley, was married to Eve, daughter of Lord Zouche, each being eight years old, their eldest son being born before they were fourteen years old.

Some instances of early marriages among our sovereigns have apparently been overlooked by the Editor. For example, Isabel of France was married to Richard II when "not above seven or eight years of

age"; another Isabel of France, "a lady of twelve years old", became wife of Edward II; and Prince Arthur Tudor was but fifteen years and less than eight weeks old at his marriage with Catharine of Aragon. It was evidently highly fashionable in the middle ages to be married young.

Of the reason of these child-marriages, the pernicious influence they exercised among the people, the state of the clergy, the law on the subject, and many other antiquarian and literary points which they illumine, Mr. Furnivall has much to say. He has probably also left much unsaid, and wisely so, as his readers, whether archaeologists or sociologists, will conclude if they give themselves the pleasure of reading the book. What we therein read of Chester may be taken, with but little difference, for the whole of the kingdom, and the original records are probably quite as ready to hand. We can, however, cordially endorse the Editor's notice when he says "This book is believed by the Editor to be the most light-giving and interesting volume ever published on the social life of the diocese of Chester in 1561-66, and some score years before."

Bygone Surrey. Edited by GEO. CLINCH and S. W. KERSHAW, M.A., F.S.A. (London : Simpkin, Marshall and Co.)—This little book, of which we gave a preliminary notice in a recent part of the *Journal*, is now issued. We cannot say that it adds much to the general knowledge of the county, which is to hand in many forms. The contents are a collection of essays on scattered subjects of antiquarian type, which might have been selected with more judgment; but the Editors have made the best of the themes they undertook to expound, and we must hope that they will in due time proceed to a second series, in which the county may be looked at somewhat more comprehensively, and such subjects as Surrey in the British, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon periods; Surrey in *Domesday*; the religious houses, the castles, the domestic architecture; the worthies, and noble families and their seats; a monograph on the contents of the Library at Lambeth, and so forth, which are lacking in this volume, find capable men to take them in hand.

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